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# GLORIOUS COMPREHENSIVENESS

AN IMPASSE AND THE WAY OUT

BY

AN OXFORD PRIEST

LONDON

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8 Henrietta Street, W.C.

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1911



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## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOREWORD . . . . .	vii
I THE SITUATION . . . . .	9
II LAISSEZ-FAIRE . . . . .	33
III JUSTIFICATIONS . . . . .	47
IV THE HIGH LINE AND THE LOW LINE . . . . .	74
V STEPS ON THE WAY OUT . . . . .	104
VI A SIGN-POST . . . . .	117



## FOREWORD

THE writer presents these pages as a frank discussion of a situation admittedly complex and difficult, and of what he has come to regard, and hopes that his readers will come to regard, as the only ultimate way out of it. His readers are not to suppose that he thinks that *any* permanent solution can be brought about easily, or simply, or in a few minutes, a few hours, a few months, or even a few years. But in our (often inarticulate) desire to escape from a present impracticable state of things—and how impracticable it is can easily be seen from the whole Prayer-Book Revision business, avowedly necessary, confessedly unattainable under present conditions—we are getting into the disastrous habit of refusing to look at things as they are, and of keeping our eyes on consequences rather than on principles. The writer wishes to face facts faithfully, however disagreeable it

may be to do so, and to restate principles. It is only when *all* Catholics have done so that there can be any hope of true and lasting Reunion, and of the correction of false developments on all sides. There is much to be done in *all* parts of the Church Catholic in this way before we can hope to be fully one once more. This essay is meant as an indication of what *we* have to do: it does not deal with what Rome or Constantinople have to do on their part. It does not look to the present aspect of things, but to that bright future when Rome and Constantinople will spell different things to what they do now. This future can only come if we will co-operate with Almighty God in bringing it about.

In order to mitigate, or to assist, speculation (if any) as to the identity of the writer, it may perhaps be useful to say that he is not working or living in Oxford, but is proud to call that University his Alma Mater, and so may claim the honour of signing himself

AN OXFORD PRIEST

# GLORIOUS COMPREHENSIVENESS

## CHAPTER I

### THE SITUATION

A few years ago, in 1903 to be precise, a pamphlet<sup>1</sup> appeared under the names of two English priests whom all English Catholics must reverence, not only for their learning, but also for the very important work they have done for the revival of Catholic principles in the English Church. It was the appeal to loyal and devoted sons for a spirit of chivalry toward their Mother, the Church of England, and of appreciation of her many excellences. It made a great impression on me at the time, as no doubt it did on many others. As I read it over again it makes a great impression on me still.

I hope I am, too, a loyal son of the English Church. But I ask myself whether, if a son

<sup>1</sup>"The Church of England," by Canon Newbolt and Dr. Darwell Stone.

thinks he sees his mother taken with a grievous disease, his very love for and loyalty toward her does not urge him imperiously to warn her of her sickness, to seek a physician and suitable remedies. And if he suspects the disease to be deadly, and sees her to be only conscious of a restless energy and buoyant hopefulness, both of which are but symptoms of the disease, his duty will become more imperatively plain.

It is in such a spirit that the following pages have been written. I am no caviller or captious critic, and my appeal is not to such. I am really anxious and distressed, and these words are written primarily for those many souls, ardent lovers like me of our common Mother, who also share in my distress and my anxiety.

I yield to none in loyalty to the English Church, and I am comforted by the words of one of the ablest and most learned of our bishops (to whom, as I shall quote him sometimes, but to, respectfully, disagree with him, I desire to pay this passing tribute here), "Every Churchman who honourably works for changes which he believes to be good and useful, is a loyal and true Churchman."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The Lord Bishop of Gibraltar in Report of Pan-Anglican Congress Section F, p. 72.

Further, I am no "dispirited prophet," for I believe as ardently as those superior persons of "the larger view and the wider outlook" in the position of the Anglican Communion as a part of the Catholic Church, for which God has and will have, if She be faithful to her true principles, a great work to do in the world.

For the rest, I am but a humble lover of books, somewhat of a traveller, who tries to think a little and to see things true and to read passing events right as they happen, to interpret them or at least to search for their meaning and their drift. And I am, I hope, first and before all things a Catholic. My people were Catholics before me (or Ritualists, or Tractarians, or Puseyites—whatever nicknames people chose to give them: Catholics all the same). My great-grandfather was the only priest, I believe, in his diocese who maintained the tradition of daily services—something to be proud of in those dark days. At the same time, Catholic as I am, and just because I am a Catholic, and believe the English Church to be my proper home in England, I have always tried my utmost both to understand and to know personally my Protestant-minded brethren. I confess it has not always been easy.

I shall state plain facts quite plainly, I hope with charity, I think with accuracy. And if I must be serious, I hope I need not be dull.

#### TWO NOTABLE CONGRESSES.

In 1908, a year still fresh in our memory and to be fresh for many years to come, there were great happenings in the Anglican Communion. We had the Education Question, which, like the poor, threatens to be with us as a permanency ; and, God be praised, it drew us together. And we had that wonderful and unprecedented gathering, the Pan-Anglican Congress, which also, God be praised once more, helped to draw us together. If there were some superior persons of another sort, who held aloof from that Congress and did not attend its meetings when they might have gone, then I am sorry for them. They missed a good deal.

But amidst all that was splendid there was one thing which profoundly distressed me, and many other people, of course. That was the character of the services, and especially of the Thanksgiving Service, provided by authority as the common offering of worship to Almighty God in preparation for, and in return for, the blessings vouchsafed to that Congress.

No doubt there were Eucharists offered in various Churches in connection with our Congress. But they did not attain the same prominence (or nearly the same prominence) in the public mind as the great Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, which was another service and not "our bounden duty and service." It was surely a grave misfortune that any service, however excellent in itself, should have been given a greater place, as far as the world could judge, than that one unique service—*"That they may be one, that the world may believe."* What an opportunity lost! We protest to the world that we are one, yet we neglected the most effective means of showing our unity in giving first place to the great Feast of Unity. In our case surely it cannot be pleaded that the object lesson was un-needed. I naturally asked myself reasons. I asked why, if another Communion found it so impossible, did not we too? The answer came, "in spite of all our boasted unity, we are not really one." Would it have been possible to have had a great solemn united Eucharist (as the Roman Catholics did shortly afterwards at their Eucharistic Congress) with all the splendid ceremonial which the Church directs, as a witness to the world of

our belief in the Sacrifice of Calvary, a witness given in the way in which the Catholic Church has always given it? And I had to answer, "No." We might perhaps have had some Eucharist shorn of the splendour and solemnity with which the Church surrounds Her central act of worship. But the world would not have been particularly impressed. If you doubt this, notice the glowing accounts given in the secular press of any elaborate function in Westminster Cathedral, the accounts which were given of the different Masses celebrated at the Eucharistic Congress.

Then I said to myself: "Perhaps we are not ready yet. Much has been regained, but much remains to be done. We must wait for that." And the answer came: "The Anglican Communion will never be ready for that, *so long as it remains what it is.*" Was I altogether wrong?

And the Pan-Anglican Congress itself did not hold out much hope of better days. I hope that everyone who could, read the Congress Reports, especially that on Section F, which deals with the "Anglican Communion." I have not the space, and it is not to my purpose, to deal with this Report in detail. But if you feel as I did about it, you found,

amid much which is really fine and helpful, a good deal of assertion which is mere assertion, a certain amount of pale paradox, a certain amount of beating of the Anglican big-drum, a certain admixture of mazy phrase-making which sounds fine on first reading, but which renders itself quickly into platitude at closer quarters. In this report there are brave enough assertions of a belief in our Catholic position. But then there is repeated definition, for example, of the Church as a democracy. Our Lord spoke of it as a Kingdom. This is only one instance, but it is typical of the whole thing.

And there is a great deal about "unity in diversity." On reading it I am irresistibly reminded of the story, current coin when I was at Oxford, that if a man wanted to do well in his *vivâ voce* for "Greats" before a certain eminent examiner (now alas! dead) he had but to say "the one is many and the many are one. There is unity in diversity, and diversity in unity."

Of course this apparent paradox is true. And, at the very outset of the career of the Christian Church, there was a true "unity in diversity" exhibited in the composition of the Apostolic College, men apparently chosen with

deliberation for their varying natures and temperaments. But their *unanimity* is one of the most remarkable facts in history. And we may, in sorrow, contrast it with the "unity in diversity," the "glorious comprehensiveness," which is being so vaunted as our chief distinction, the one hope of our being as a Church, our message, our mission, and so on and so forth. And it is just because I, as a Catholic, feel that all this spirit is so different from the true spirit of the Catholic Church, the spirit of the Apostolic College, that I have ventured to trouble you with these pages. For instead of "diversity" I read "disunion." And I remember that "*a house divided against itself cannot stand.*"

Now let us set to work to try and prove this. It is a grave statement to make, and I do not wish to deal in "mere assertion." I should not venture to take up your time if I did. I will begin by asking what men commonly say of the usefulness of such gatherings as the Pan-Anglican and other Congresses which fall to our lot. Is it not customary to thank God (as I did just now) for them *because they draw us together?* All "schools of thought" meet amicably on a common platform. Wonderful! Lord Halifax calls Prebendary Webb-Peploe his friend.

Splendid! How wonderful? Why splendid? What more natural when both are Catholic Churchmen? Do brethren "dwelling together in unity" think it wonderful or splendid that they should meet on a common platform, or call each other friends? Certainly not; it is obvious and unremarked. If Lord Halifax and Fr. Suckling meet on the same platform and call each other friends, the comment is "of course." The underlying thought is union. Diversity then? Well, if Newman and Manning had been found on the same platform men would not have exclaimed "Wonderful"; they would have said "Of course." Yet there were diversities there. Only the dominant pedal of union was strong enough to support superimposed discords, and unify them into a general harmony.

Is this fanciful and far-fetched?

Well, then, let us get on to some bare facts. I propose to take you away from the meetings and the Report, with its large-sounding phrases, and to ask you to go with me into the dioceses and parishes, which are the actual workshop of the Church. There one can test this theory of "unity in diversity," of "glorious comprehensiveness," and see how it works out in everyday life. For the real work of the Church lies in Her

daily, painful, toilsome care of the souls of sinful men.

#### A DESCRIPTION OF PARISH A.

Parish A, then, is a parish worked "on thoroughly Catholic lines." Before we go further we may as well be clear and see what exactly we mean by this much-abused word "Catholic." By a Catholic I mean a man whom all other Catholics would recognise as exhibiting the Catholic spirit. I mean a man who desires above all things to submit himself to the judgment of the whole Catholic Church, whose outlook is no narrower than the complete circle of all his Catholic brethren (no "narrow outlook" surely!). Eastern and Western Catholics would very probably (do, in fact) demur to considering those of us who call ourselves Catholics as being fully Catholics in *status*. But they would all of them (if I may take myself as a fair sample of Anglo-Catholicism, and may translate my particular experience into a general) recognise in us the Catholic spirit and the desire to realise our Catholicity as far as we know how. It is important, I think, to realise this as the true connotation of the word "Catholic," as used in common parlance, because even the "separated

brethren" are beginning to speak of themselves, in some places, as Catholics nowadays. We want to hear a little more of the Vincentian Canon "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*" and to recognise that, whatever modern views of the word "Catholic" may be in vogue, it *is* a term with a sufficiently definite connotation. A man can claim to be called a Catholic, I repeat, who has the Catholic spirit and who desires to accept all that the whole Church teaches as far as and right up to this connotation of the term "the whole Catholic Church." This connotation will differ, probably, in some minor points, between a Roman, an Eastern, and an Anglican. But there will be this fundamental point in common, that they all recognise "universal consent," and that they all desire to submit themselves to this consent, that is, to the voice of the whole Catholic Church. And a man who does that, and that man only, has the right to the name Catholic in its traditional sense. Of course I am perfectly aware (I should not be worthy to trouble you with my pages if I were not) that there is a sense in which all baptized persons are Catholics. But this is not the ordinary connotation of the word. And I shall deal with this point later (in Chapter 3).

When I say, then, that Parish A is a parish worked "on thoroughly Catholic lines," I am using the word "Catholic" in the ordinary accepted meaning of the term. And when I say further that this sort of parish is the norm for a Church which claims to be a local part of the Catholic Church, I am not saying so out of any arrogant feeling that "we are they who ought to speak," but simply because, as a matter of sheer fact, this sort of parish and the sort of parishioners it trains and turns out is the only sort which has any chance of recognition by the rest of the Catholic Church (and this point also I shall hope to deal with later). Other people may (and do) call themselves "Catholics," but they use the term in a special and private and eclectic sense.

In Parish A, then, the Churchman is taught, in the name of the Church, that he is a Catholic, and must listen to the voice of the whole Catholic Church, as any Catholic has always to do, whether he be an Englishman, Frenchman, Russian, or what not. The English Church is his Mother and his Teacher, and claims his allegiance simply and solely because She is the local representative of the whole Church Catholic. She has the same position and credentials

as the Church, say, in France, or Italy, or Greece. Intercommunion with these Churches has been unfortunately interrupted from various causes, but he must earnestly hope and expect that the day will come when he will be able to communicate at any Catholic altar all the world over. He is taught all the doctrines which the whole Catholic Church teaches, including, besides the rudimentary doctrines which everyone who can claim to call himself a Christian at all must subscribe to, Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Intermediate State, the duty and privilege of praying for the Departed, Apostolic Succession as the condition of a valid ministry (and therefore of valid Sacraments), and so on. He is also taught that it cannot be wrong for him to beg our Blessed Lady and the Saints for their powerful intercession and interest, as the whole Church does so. In practice, he will at least attend Mass every Sunday and day of obligation, as every Catholic is bound to do; he will at least consider that private confession before a priest is likely to be good for his soul, as most Catholics find it so. And he will have set before him, as a standard and guide to public worship, the standard in externals of the whole Church Catholic, merci-

fully preserved for us in the Church of England.

The whole life of such a Churchman is a definitely Catholic life, lived in as full and conscious communion as possible with the whole Catholic Church, with the exception of certain minor details precisely the same life as a devout French, Italian, or Russian Churchman would live. And if he care to go abroad and worship in Catholic Churches there, he would very soon find himself quite at home, as a Catholic should do.

#### PARISH B.

Now let us go to Parish B., a definitely Low Church parish. The Churchman is there taught, also in the same august name of the Church of England, by a Priest bearing the same credentials *and having the same recognition by authority* as his "Catholic" brother, that he is a Protestant. The English Church is a Protestant institution, in many important respects definitely opposed to the Catholic Church in other parts of the world, bound to protest against Her "errors," and pledged by its very existence and *raison d'être* to contradict much of Her teaching. Baptismal Regeneration is denied, or at least explained in a non-Catholic sense: as is the Real

Presence. The Eucharistic Sacrifice is a "blasphemous fable" (does not Article XXXI. say so?). The Intermediate State does not exist, as a state of life; the Departed are in a state of unconsciousness, and therefore to pray for them is useless. Apostolic Succession is an idle dream, or at least *nihil ad rem*; the Priest is no better than any other Protestant minister. He certainly has not the power of Absolution, in any real sense, and Confession before a Priest is unscriptural, if it is not a soul-destroying contrivance attended by numerous (often revolting) evils. "Sacerdotalism" is a most dangerous delusion. "Hearing Mass" without communion is not allowed in the Church of England. Prayer to the Saints, being derogatory to the unique position of the Deity, is blasphemous.

In externals certain Mediæval garments will be "retained and had in use" with reluctance, avowedly on the finding of a secular tribunal (described as the ultimate tribunal of reference for God's Church!). The general arrangements of the Church will be as unlike what are found in any other part of the Church of Christ as they can well be, to emphasize supposed differences between the Reformed Church of England and the Catholic Church. The whole tone and spirit

of a Churchman in such a parish is Protestant. He will (and does) find himself quite at home in a Wesleyan Chapel or any other "Free Church" place of worship. If he goes abroad he would find the Calvinistic or Lutheran services not uncomfortable (he would probably take serious exception to their chasubles in Scandinavia). If he strayed into a Catholic Church he would be ill at ease: it would present to him an alien religion. Nor, to go further, do I think that a parishioner of Parish B. would feel differently if he were to attend High Mass in Parish A. He would feel he was in an atmosphere wholly foreign to him, in spite of the fact that the same Prayer Book service was being used that he is accustomed to in his own Church. I do not think that I have overdrawn Parish B., have I? I do not want to score cheap scores: I want before all things to be accurate. The question I am discussing is too solemn and too serious for anything else. And I now ask you candidly, laying aside all beautiful phrases and fine theories, whether the inclusion of such "diversities" (contradictions in fact) in teaching in the same body, teaching, mind you, which has not to do with secondary matters, but with matters which have the most practical bearing imaginable on the actual life

which results from them, given by priests of equal status in the same Church, in communion with the same bishop, can by any stretch of the imagination be called legitimate "diversities," and do not in actual fact constitute a state of division, and of practical, if not actual, schism?

And if you do think so, then you will not be surprised if I think that the English Church (or the whole Anglican Communion rather) is in a state of sickness, with all respect to the high-flown sentiments expressed at the Pan-Anglican Congress, in Prayer-Book Revision meetings, and in general talk amongst us.

You may object, if you like, that Parish B. is not a very common sort of parish, and that it is rapidly vanishing. Let us thank God, if this is so: but I doubt if it be so unusual as you may charitably think. You will find plenty of them in Australia, and, if the present "Newcastle programme" continues unchecked, there are likely to be plenty of them in that unfortunate diocese in the future. And as to their vanishing, perhaps they will. But apparently we are to welcome extremes in a really comprehensive Church. I confess quite candidly that I do not welcome extremes like that. And I do not welcome them in the interest of re-union with the rest of the

Catholic Church, the object nearest and dearest to my heart, as it must be to the heart of any Catholic. More than this, the extraordinary pity of the whole thing is that the parishioner of Parish B. is really striving, on his own principles, to act in a Catholic spirit. That is to say that, in most cases, he means to obey the voice of the Church. He is full of zeal for (supposed) "Church of England" doctrine. He thus bows to a standard of authority outside himself. Only the Church Herself permits him to entertain a sorry conception of Her nature and Her office, by refusing to insist (gently, of course, as a mother should, but firmly, too, as a mother who would train her children judiciously and conscientiously) upon his learning what She really is. By sparing the rod she is made to spoil her child. And now "glorious comprehensiveness" steps in and tells her that in these modern days mothers must not train their children too strictly. Or perhaps she no longer has the power? We must consider this later.

## PARISH C.

Meanwhile there are other flowers to be culled from this fruitful tree of our "glorious comprehensiveness." In Parish C. the "sanction" for

teaching is “the doctrine of the Church of England” which is supposed to differ in some rather important respects (though not so important as in Parish B.) from the teaching of the whole Catholic Church. The Primitive Church, to which the English Church appeals (as also do the Roman and Eastern Churches, by the way) is followed up to a point. The Real Presence is taught, but not the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Prayers for the Departed may form a (tentative) part of the instruction given. Prayers to the Saints are ruled out.

Mattins is the chief service of Sunday morning, Evensong probably of the whole Sunday. Fasting Communion is neither taught nor practised (especially if the priest has to “celebrate late”). The whole atmosphere of the parish is insular, and, in-so-far as it picks and chooses what it will believe and what reject, contrary to the Catholic spirit of acceptance of authority, or if it does whole-heartedly accept what it believes to be authority of the English Church, it is isolated, and therefore makes for disunion rather than union, and, so far, is anti-Catholic. This is an important sort of parish, because it is the sort of parish most usually met with nowadays. Further, it forms a customary

training-ground for future dignitaries. And here again let us notice the vast pity of it. The desire to obey is still there, the material for the Church to work upon, the willing ear if She will only speak plainly. But the Mother has not been moved to remember her professions, her consistent appeal to Antiquity, her declaration (30th Canon of 1603)<sup>3</sup> that she does not mean to repudiate her children in other parts of the world, except so far as she can better teach her children in England to realise more fully a fidelity to her ways.

#### PARISH D.

In Parish D. "private judgment" is the theory, the "voice of the Church" nowhere at all. The Prayer Book is a respectable compendium of prayers, but its structure and directions can be altered at will, as convenience suggests. The Bible? Well, the critics are really revolutionizing our ideas, and modern Science

<sup>3</sup>The Canon runs as follows: "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Church of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as this Apology for the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endanger the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men, and only departeth from them in those particular points wherein they have fallen from themselves in their integrity, and from the Apostolic Churches which were their first founders."

has a great deal to tell us, and is, apparently, (together with philosophy) the *dernier cri* of authority, if there is such a thing as authority.

Much may have to go, meanwhile hold on to what you can. The Creeds? They are at best man's feeble attempt to declare the Truth of God (this is true, of course, but the general atmosphere of such a parish robs the statement of much of its truth by putting it in a hazy setting). They may win a certain respect from antiquity. But, if they do not square with twentieth century ideas and spirit, then each must modify them for himself. The Athanasian Creed—is of no particular consequence, and is an unnecessary burden on men's consciences. Therefore we won't ask anyone to say it, nor do so ourselves in public. The Eucharist? Christ told us to "do this," so we do it and ask no questions. Let us pray "with the heart" and not mind about "the understanding also." Ceremonial? O, bother ritual disputes! Our "use" is seemly (and certainly not "Catholic"). But if you don't like it we can easily change. Anyway it doesn't much matter. The atmosphere of such a parish encourages the Churchman to believe that he, and not the Church, is the measure of all things. It is more

purely Protestant than Parish B. (though Parish B. would probably not admit this) because it tends to ignore all authority outside the individual. Speaking generally, it links him on to nobody else: it is individualistic. And it trains dignitaries who will vex pious souls with expressions of disbelief in the Virgin Birth, the Historical Resurrection, and other important points in the Christian Revelation. In Parish B. there is at least the conception of a society, or societies, though these societies curiously exhibit themselves in opposition to the Catholic Church. I might go further in the alphabet. But I need not weary you.

My point is that there are these (and other) types of parishes, with all kinds of varying and opposed atmospheres, producing such different products, all existing side by side (and rated as definitely opposing forces in some cases) in the same Church. Such a phenomenon is unknown to the rest of the Catholic Church, and has always been unknown, at least in the extreme manifestations of it with which we are familiar at home and apparently are to encourage and welcome. There are and have been, of course, differences of opinion, "schools of thought," Thomists and Scotists, and so on, in other parts of the Church.

But nowhere have such fundamental differences as these been permitted in a Church calling itself Catholic. And I ask you whether this is a case really to be dignified by the name of "Unity," the first note of the Church?

I ask you whether it is really a healthy phenomenon, indicative of life, or whether it is not a sign of decay and of sickness?

We have been told that the characteristic note of the Anglican Communion is a "reasoned liberty." Would it not at the present time be truer to say "unreasonable license?"

There is a saying attributed to Cecil Rhodes, which has always struck me with peculiar force. "The Church of England," he is reported to have said, "does not know her own mind."<sup>4</sup> This is how, apparently, an institution which confessedly exists for the most practical of all objects, struck an eminently intelligent, practical man. This is how I feel it strikes many outside, who would come ready to respect us and to listen to us.

If so, it is the worst confession of failure. The Church is "*Ecclesia docens*" is she not? A teacher should know her own mind. The Church exists for practical people, does She not,

<sup>4</sup>Report, p. 11.

and not merely for *doctrinaires*? And if it is not open to an individual teacher to say "Yea" and "Nay" in the same breath without reproach and futility, why is it more open to a Teaching Church?

## CHAPTER II

### LAISSEZ-FAIRE

Perplexed and worried by “our unhappy divisions” (as we used in times of ignorance to speak of them), it has become the fashion to say “live and let live.” We are all doing useful work; we don’t want to be perpetually quarrelling and wrangling; we like to meet as brethren. Therefore why can’t we leave each other in peace? “My bishop is very kind to me,” says good Father X., “he lets me alone. I have my own people to deal with. I don’t want to bother about what my Protestant neighbour does or teaches: it is no concern of mine.” Well, cheer up, Father X., the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Prayer-Book Revision people tell you that there are no “divisions,” only pleasing and welcome “diversity,” and your policy has been endorsed and blessed by an episcopal pen.<sup>5</sup> And I must say that I have very

<sup>5</sup>Pan-Anglican Papers—F. p. 3.

much sympathy with your policy. After all the storm and stress of the troublous times through which the Catholic revival has come, it is a blessing to be left alone and to be able to rejoice in some measure of peace gained at last. And can I blame a man if he, a faithful parish priest, thinks first and foremost of what he can do for his own flock? Frankly, I cannot blame him.

*And yet that way lies congregationalism,* which is in danger of becoming a matured fruit (one of the many precious fruits) from the tree of "glorious comprehensiveness." Is the Church nothing, is the parish everything? "Can we forget" (they are the words of one who has not written much, but whose every word is worth reading)—"can we forget that the vast majority even of those who call themselves Church people are ignorant of the Faith and despise the Sacraments which our Lord has given as necessary to salvation . . . can we be contented with the devotion in our own parish when perhaps the next parish is soiled with heresy, neglect, irreverence?"<sup>6</sup> These words were written some years ago, and the march of "glorious

<sup>6</sup>Rev. H. H. Jeafferson (Chaplain to the Bishop of Gibraltar) in "Addresses on the Order for Holy Communion," p. 17.

comprehensiveness" and other forms of Modernism has done much to make "heresy" out of date. Still there are some of us who are old-fashioned enough still to think that there is such a thing as heresy.

And is this doctrine of *laissez-faire* so very alluring? In politics, the sphere in which it first arose, or, at least, found articulation, I thought it was becoming rather a "back number." I thought it had been proved rather a failure, and that we were advancing to a nobler idea of the functions of the State as a parent. We have all along had a nobler idea of the Church before us, if we would but remember it.

#### HOW IT WORKS.

It is all very well when a priest has the flock to himself, living round him, attending his church, imbibing his teaching. And yet not *his* teaching, as he would be the first to say, but the teaching of the Church given by him in Her name, and with Her authority. It is all very well, Father X., while you have your Churchman under you, in your church, the man you have trained and taught so carefully, and perhaps prepared for his Confirmation. But

what if he moves into another parish? It may be the very next parish. "If he moves into the next parish," you say, "he will continue to attend my church" (I am thinking of Father X. as a town priest). I expect he will. But the question is, why should he? And ought he to? It is an old and wholesome rule that everyone should attend his parish church, and the main machinery of the Church is based upon the supposition that this rule will obtain? Why should he not follow this rule? "Because," you say, "it is a Low Church parish (perhaps a parish B.), and he will not find there the teaching he has been used to." Exactly: and yet he will find there a Church of England church of precisely the same status as yours, claiming to teach in the same Name as you do. If he comes to your church still, what is he doing? He is exercising his "private judgment," the very thing you have taught him not to do. What *right* has he to choose? You tell him that "the Church teaches." Very well, that ought to be enough for him. On your own principles you ought to encourage him to stick to his own parish church. As it is, he has to choose. Leaving alone his right, what *power* has he to choose?

Further, you are, we will say, a Master of

Arts of some University, perhaps only a Bachelor: you may even have no degree at all. You have very likely not allowed yourself to take the higher degrees you could have done, and have spent your money on the parish instead. Now your neighbour is a Doctor of Divinity of the same University. On paper, then, he is a better theologian than you, and the Bishop gives him an equal right at least to speak in the name of the Church. He may be a dignitary, and therefore have apparently more right. And he does not say the same things as you do: indeed he actually contradicts much of your teaching. What then? Perhaps you will answer, "My man has brains, and I have given him reasons, and taught him the Prayer-book carefully." It is the usual way, and it is a good way, productive of a reasoned faith. But (1) it would be impossible, or at least very difficult, to be able to do this for every member of your congregation in detail, (2) I am not thinking of an educated man at all (though the Anglican Communion seems to suppose that it has to deal mainly with educated people with a gift for theology). I am thinking of poor Hodge (Father X. may, after all, be a country priest), the farm hand, or poor John Smith, the unskilled

labourer, a member of that large class now so often out of work (owing to political *laissez-faire*), but with a soul to be cared for and tended, just the same as everyone else. Are you going to appeal to *his* brains, *his* theological acumen? "Well, he likes me, and my ways appeal to him." Then does it not come to this, ultimately, that your appeal to him is the appeal of personal affection? It is *you* he trusts, and not the Church at all. Or, rather, he trusts you to teach him proper Church teaching because he has no other way of learning. There is no objection to this, of course, in normal times. It is the way in which the first Christians were taught for the most part, before there was "the Bible to prove."

But now take it the other way round. Let it be the Rev. Z., D.D., your learned, tiresome, but warm-hearted Low Church brother in the next parish that he has learned to trust. What is his view then of the doctrine of the Church, or of what the Church is in Herself? Where is his attendance at Mass, his devotion to our Lord in and through His Most Blessed Sacrament, his fasting Communion, his regular Confession (so helpful, probably so necessary, to his simple soul), his prayer for the departed mother or wife, to say nothing of his realisation of the help of

our Blessed Lady, his patron saint, his guardian angel? He is a Churchman, and he ought to have known and done these things. They are privileges which other Churchmen have, and which he needs as well as they. And yet he has to go without them just because he has not known you, Father X., but has known Dr. Z. instead.

#### ANOTHER EVIL CONSEQUENCE.

And this is the way in which the Church has repaid his trust in Her. And this is the way in which a “gloriously comprehensive” Church will and must always treat Her humble sons and daughters. Truly it is an attractive prospect! And then, again, a priest has laboured hard and zealously in his parish for many years. He has taught the Faith and practised it, and given his people “full Catholic privileges” as a Catholic priest should do. Then there comes a call to other work. What *security* is there that the man who comes after will continue what he has taught and practised? Let me give you an instance which actually happened, not so very long ago. I give it not so much to point to what does happen (thank God, it doesn’t very often: still not too infrequently), but what *can* happen, as

things are, and as it is thought so splendid that they should be. A priest had taught the whole Faith, had introduced the full ceremonial of the Church (or at least "five points" of it). After a few years, for reasons of health, he had to resign his living. The administration (by the beautiful exigences of our system in such things) had, during his incumbency, passed into Protestant hands. The new rector forthwith proceeded to undo all his predecessor had tried to do. The vestments, of course, were disused, the lights removed, the frontals unchanged. And on Good Friday, of all days in the year, the very Cross on the Altar, the joyous symbol to all Christian folk of our glorious Redemption from the power of Satan, was publicly denounced as "a Popish thing" to be deprecated by all who would follow Christ faithfully. Poor people! One rector had taught them certain things to believe and to do, on the authority of the Church. The very next rector told them they were not to believe or to do these things, and quoted the same authority. Poor, bewildered, simple, country folk!

An instance of the abuse of private patronage? Then, incidentally, why allow the abuse to remain any longer? What serious efforts are

being made to sweep away a thing which can work such disaster? No; don't blame the patrons; blame the people who are preaching and writing up the "glorious comprehensiveness" which can allow of such despite being done to simple, defenceless souls.

#### ITS EFFECT UPON THE BISHOPS.

And is it any better when the patronage is in the hands of the bishops? It is true that (all honour to them!) many bishops nowadays do try and secure some continuity of teaching and practice in parishes in their gift. But there is no *security* for this. And in what an extraordinary position does the Church place the bishops in these days of "glorious comprehensiveness"! The ancient idea of a bishop was that he was pre-eminently the guardian of the Truth, that to his Order was especially committed the handing on of the witness of the Church to the truths of the Catholic Faith. They were to be chief pastors leading their flock, going before them, pointing the way. Now what have they to do? They have to be in full communion with A., who teaches full Catholic doctrine, and with B., who denies a great deal of it, and with various types in between them. We look to our bishops as

our natural leaders, especially in important crises. And we turn around and blame them because they don't lead strongly. It is most unjust. How *can* we expect strong leading from men who, not from any fault of their own, but from the very nature of the system they are called upon to administer, are learning day by day that their chief excellence, apparently, lies in leaving their priests alone: that if they attempt a strong line in Church matters a certain part of their clergy will find themselves unable to follow them? And so when it comes to other matters—education questions and the like—even when they have a strong backing, old habit seems to assert itself, and we are only too familiar with a conspicuous inability to lead, even in the very highest quarters. Sometimes we hear grumbles that our bishops and other dignitaries are chosen so largely from the ranks of the "safe." What other results could you expect our system of "glorious comprehensiveness" to have? The Bishop must be "above party," and that is the attitude (shall I say "pose"?) of the "safe" man. So if we are to have "glorious comprehensiveness" the "safe" man is the man for bishop. For the episcopal office must be a hard one indeed in these days. All our bishops, we

are sure, have in their heart of hearts (for “above party” is impossible in practical life, though it is a pleasant phrase) a certain definite attitude of their own towards the Catholic Faith. They have to teach in the Name of the Church; and yet they may not press their own attitude as authoritative.

They must, above all things, try to be fair and impartial towards the many-hued “schools of thought” which are to be found in their dioceses. And so they must not say, “This is the teaching of the Church, which I declare to you authoritatively,” on many points, but only, “This is my belief, my view, my idea of the Truth. I commend it to your notice, but you are free to disagree with me if you like.” Once again, I don’t mean matters of “pious opinion,” but matters (such as the Real Presence or the Eucharistic Sacrifice) on which the Catholic Church is unanimous. It is a curious conception of a chief pastor and his work and office. And yet, if “glorious comprehensiveness” is to prevail, it is the only way in which he can work. Another fruit from that prolific tree!

But it may well be asked if it is any better when the bishops do set themselves to fulfil their office and teach. “Unity in diversity”

reaches also to the episcopal bench. Is it so very admirable that one bishop should say one thing authoritatively, and another another equally authoritatively? And if they do, who is to settle the matter? We have got used to these things, used to treating it as a normal rather than an utterly abnormal state of things. And one result of this state of things has been a considerable minimising of regard for the teaching office of the very men who ought to be foremost in teaching, and most listened to when they do teach. Again, another fruit, and a fine full-grown one this time!

#### DO NOT BLAME THE ESTABLISHMENT.

If you were inclined to blame the system of private patronage in the case of parishes, you may be inclined to blame the Establishment in the case of the episcopate. It is quite true that the Establishment has many sins to carry upon its shoulders. But it is not to the point to bring it in here. For the same features manifest themselves in churches which know not its blessings, the unestablished churches of Greater Britain and of America. No; once again direct the blame to those who ought to bear it, those who, in a free assembly of the whole Anglican Com-

munion, deliberately declared it is their opinion that this system was admirable and characteristic of "Our Church." Establishment or non-establishment does not enter into the question, except incidentally.

Let us face this fact squarely, the fact that men of light and leading in "Our Church" are blessing the system of "glorious comprehensiveness" which they find there, and which some of us have always deplored as the greatest of evils, and declare that it ought to be fostered and encouraged as peculiarly our own. And now, dear Father X., and my brethren of the laity, if you have been good enough to wade through these dry and trite facts, which have been facing you all your lives, but whose import you have perhaps not realised before, I ask you whether you consider this system admirable or the reverse, having looked at some of its inevitable results. And if you agree with me that it is the reverse, I ask you further whether you think that *laissez-faire* is exactly the line to take when your Mother is sorely stricken, as we think she is? Can you, like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side?

"The price of our liberty?" Yes, that is often said: we must either endure these things or

endure tyranny. I shall hope to show you, as we go on, that the price is (1) dishonest, far too heavy, and more than we have power to disburse; (2) futile, because we have no liberty. For liberty is but the opportunity for progress, and present conditions forbid us to improve and go forward. So we have no liberty. And we are wrong about the tyranny.

## CHAPTER III

### JUSTIFICATIONS

I have headed this chapter “Justifications”: let me begin with one on my own account. I can quite imagine a critic, and not an unkindly one either, saying to me at this juncture, “You are evidently in earnest, and much of what you have said is true. But have you never considered that there may be something to be said for a theory which eminent and learned men have backed up, and which apparently has gained wide acceptance from many sides? And have you ever thought that these eminent and learned men have just as much love and zeal for the Church as you have? More than this: you say you believe in the Anglican Communion as part of the Catholic Church, and yet it is they, rather than you, who are prepared to trust to the living voice of the Church.” Well, let me reply, “I am glad I have convinced you of my earnestness: that is the first thing I wanted to do. And

the very fact of the learning and eminence of the men who have backed up, and are backing up, this theory has made me think all the more, and hesitate very much before venturing to write in criticism. A man, if he is a wise man and a humble man, does not seek for trouble for himself by attacking the theories of learned and eminent persons. And I assure you it is only my deep sense of the gravity of this theory, both in its consequences for the present and in its tendencies for the future, which has led me to lift up my voice in protest. I hope for a hearing for myself, but I hope much more that other pens than mine will support what I am striving to establish. And as for the love and zeal of those to whom I find myself in opposition, God forbid that I should doubt it for a single moment. And, as to your last point, I do indeed believe in the Anglican Communion as sharing in the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit. But I think I may claim to have remembered something which those who differ from me have apparently forgotten, and that is that the Churches of Rome and the East also share in this Divine Guidance: and that to these Churches (by far the largest part of Christendom) this theory does not commend itself, to put

it in as mild and inoffensive a form as possible. I may not treat the Anglican Communion as a thing apart from the rest of the Church, in a matter which affects its very life and being, its constitution, its methods, its utility." Are we not in danger of forgetting at times that, to take a low estimate, there are about 340 millions of Christians having the Apostolic ministry in the world beside ourselves (who number only about 30 millions), and that the great Roman Communion is in itself eight times as large as ours?<sup>7</sup>

Numbers are not everything, of course, but if I am to consider (as naturally I must) that all these others are certainly as much Catholics as I am, I must at least be chary of hastily accepting an innovating theory which they have not accepted, and show no signs of accepting. To do so is to act in a spirit of sheer loyalty to the Catholic Church. Well, enough of that. Let us now go on to examine the justifications which have been advanced for our "glorious comprehensiveness."

#### FELLOWSHIP AND DOCTRINE.

(I.) "Spiritual fellowship is not based upon

<sup>7</sup>From a computation given on pp. 195, 196 of Archdn. Wirgman's "Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven." Published in 1905.

similarity of opinion, but upon an underlying common life."<sup>8</sup> Of course this is true, though I should have said "ultimately based" myself. We are in spiritual fellowship with other Christians because we are members of Christ, made so in Baptism, and sharing in His Life thereby. Or, rather, I should say that this Life shared in common makes spiritual fellowship *possible*. And in saying this I shall obviously imply that other things must enter in which shall turn the possible fellowship into actual fellowship, things which make for its *realisation*. Let me borrow an illustration from another kind of life, the ordinary human life. I do not mean mere physical life, but the life which implies the possession of a soul and a mind, as well as a body, to be quickened by life. I take myself, an ordinary educated Briton, and I take a cannibal native of New Guinea. We both have bodies, souls, and minds animated by life: that is our basis. But it is a basis of *possible*, not of *actual and realised* fellowship. Before there can be any real fellowship between me and the cannibal (other than physical absorption!) other most important factors will have to enter

<sup>8</sup>Pan-Anglican Papers, No. 6, p. 3. I shall quote *passim* from this paper throughout this chapter.

in. He will have to be educated, to adopt other canons of life and conduct, and so on. In other words, the question of *doctrine* will have entered in. And the nearer he is to approach my standard and make the possibilities of real fellowship between us the greater, the more *doctrine* will he have to imbibe and make his own in the conduct of his life.

And thus in a very real (if secondary) sense, agreement in doctrine *is* the basis of fellowship between us. Our common life supplies the primary basis, the thing without which we could not even begin, the groundwork, the opportunity. In the fact of possible fellowship, it is the most important (nay, indispensable) factor, but in the realisation of fellowship (which is, after all, what matters) it is our common doctrines, criteria, sanctions for living life in a particular way, which are important and indispensable. Nor is it otherwise, I take it, in the Christian life, for all kinds of life are analogous. I am in communion and fellowship with all baptised Christians: but I am in *realised* fellowship with those who think as I do, and the nearer we agree the closer and better realised the fellowship. And, further than this, just as our cannibal above has learned what life really means by imbibing

the doctrines of civilisation, and so has drawn nearer to us who have, by the same doctrines, learned the same higher lesson, so he who has imbibed and assimilated most of the Revelation of God, by which I mean, of course, the full Catholic Faith, has learned most of what the Christian life really means. Now I take it that the function of the State is, speaking generally, to provide for the regular and authorised transmission of human life, and for the realisation by all its citizens, if it may be, or at least of as many as possible, of the fullest and highest forms of that life. It provides for this realisation by causing certain social doctrines to be taught, certain social sanctions to be inculcated, certain social laws to be imposed. Similarly, it is the function of the Church to provide for the regular and authorised transmission of the Divine Life in the Sacraments, and the realisation by all its citizens (even the humblest) of the fullest and highest forms of that life. This object, like the State, it strives to attain by the doctrines to which it is a witness, by the sanctions which it inculcates, by the laws which it imposes. And it is in this way that I can best account for the acknowledged prominence which it gives to doctrine. "Go ye and teach . . .

baptising," "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship"; the doctrine comes first in each case. Why? Because it was the necessary condition of the realisation of the life and of the fellowship which was to result from it.

And this explains to me, in part, the reason why the Church has always been so anxious and so careful for the preservation of doctrine, has laid such stress upon it, and has cast out from Her fellowship those who disagree with it. Their disagreement was a menace to the realisation of the common life of the Christian community. There is, of course, much more to be said as to the necessity of witnessing to Truth simply as Truth (for our Lord was "the Truth" as well as "the Life"). But the Christian religion has always most anxiously maintained the necessary connection between the two: truth must result in life, theory in practice. And this is what I am dealing with more especially here. It follows, then, that the realisation of the common life is intimately and inextricably bound up with acceptance of the common truth, inasmuch as it is through this acceptance that it is actually realised. So we may say, in a very true sense indeed, that "*spiritual fellowship is based upon*

similarity of opinion (I prefer to say, again, ‘upon the acceptance of revealed doctrine’).” And therefore any part of the Church which concedes undue liberty in opinion to its members is in danger of imperilling Her primary function. She is running a grave risk of imperilling their possibility of a realised spiritual fellowship with each other, either with their immediate household, or with their brethren in the Church Universal.

#### HIGH, LOW, AND BROAD.

(II.) Necessary differences in temperament must be provided for. These will be found to be divided by custom into the High, Low, and Broad categories, speaking roughly (for further elaboration of the idea, see Pan-A. Papers S. F. I.—“Our Ideals”). The frank recognition of these natural differences and the care with which it provides for them will bring in an added richness to the life of the Church. Maybe, and very likely. I hope I am not so hide-bound as to think that all men can be moulded into the same type, or turned out with a machine-made uniformity. But, I ask, is the way of “glorious comprehensiveness” the *only* way of dealing with them? There have always, of course,

been these types in the Christian Church. It is only another way of saying that the Church is composed of human beings. Yet the Church has found it possible to develop and to use their peculiar gifts to the full, and still to require them to conform to Her full doctrine and practice.

And they gladly conformed, believing Her to be "the pillar and ground of the Truth," and brought their differences into subjection to Her, in times and places where She has spoken with authority. "I say," says the writer of the paper quoted above in this connection, "of High Churchmanship that it emphasises will power: of Low Churchmanship that it emphasises heart power: and of Broad Churchmanship that it emphasises mind power." Let us write some names against these three categories:—Ignatius Loyola for will power, Francis of Assisi for heart power, Thomas Aquinas for mind power: or, to take modern names in the same order, Manning, Faber, Newman. I think I need not labour my point. And we shall deal with the question of the Church and the individual later, in the next chapter.

#### ANOTHER THEORY.

(III.) The "aspects of Truth" theory. This

differs very little in result from the “temperamental” theory we have just been dealing with. Its difference lies in its premisses rather than in its conclusions. The major premiss is that no one “system” can contain or express the whole Truth. It was brought out very clearly in a little work by the late Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford (Dr. Bigg), entitled “Unity in Diversity.” We have always had two types in the Church, Petrine and Pauline, externalists (I forget the actual word he uses) and mystics, and they must be provided for. Quite so. But what the writer apparently overlooked is that, from St. Paul downwards through the ages, both these types have found it quite feasible to accept the whole doctrine and external arrangements of the Church, and to submit to Her authority, as knowing better than they. St. Paul, in fact, calls for submission in no measured terms: and it was he, by the way, “mystic” as he was, who noticed such minute details of externals as to order women to have their heads covered in church. St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa, Walter Hilton, Mother Julian of Norwich, and a host of others, were “mystics,” but they never apparently considered that special arrangements were to be made for

their particular likes and dislikes. They thought the general arrangements of the Church quite good enough for them, and quite an adequate setting for their particular messages. More, they all rejoiced and revelled in Catholic Truth.

Can it be contended that Protestantism has produced greater mystics or a greater frequency of mystics than the Catholic Church? Hardly, I think, by any responsible writer. And yet, if this theory is true, that is just what we should have a right to expect.

#### OUR MESSAGE AND MISSION.

(IV.) "We have a message to be comprehensive." Have we? And if so, where did we get it from? From our Prayer-book and formularies? I had always (I am old-fashioned) imagined that there was an Act of Uniformity (not Diversity), and that "one Use" was imposed upon the English Church at the Reformation by the judicious backing of not very comfortable or very easy pains and penalties. It is perfectly true that we have, in actual practice, many diversities, as we have seen, startling diversities too. But (again I am old-fashioned) I had

always thought that such diversities had come about because it had been the fashion to treat the Prayer-book and formularies (in spite of inconvenient vows) as a dead-letter, more or less, to reduce the system of the Church to a paper system, unnoticed, unhonoured, unobserved, except by a minority who had been penalised and prosecuted, harassed, punished, and abused for such observance. But I was wrong, evidently. What I thought was the result of (fairly obvious) neglect and disobedience has evidently been a "message" entrusted to the Anglican Church. And it is a different message to that given to the rest of Christendom, which still speaks of authority in religion in its antiquated speech. I am perfectly willing to grant—I should be foolish indeed if I were not—that there are differences in temperament between East and West, and further still between Teutons and Latins, and further still between English and Germans, French and Spaniards, and that these differences are bound to affect their ways of worship and their ways of expressing truth. In former days the differences between Eastern and Western theology were marked, between Athanasius, for example, and Augustine. And there were further

differences between, say, the School of Alexandria and the School of Antioch.

And this same thing happened in worship, different rites in East and West, and differing rites again in both. And, in spite of much pressure from the centre, we can see the same thing to-day with our own eyes. Anyone who has worshipped in a country church in the South of Italy, and in a country church in the Black Forest, even in country churches in Normandy and in Provence, must have been struck at once by the differences in the mode of expressing worship. The arrangement of the church will be different, and the general spirit of the worshippers different. In the Black Forest, for instance, we shall see simple-looking churches, and a spirit in the worshippers which we can recognise as reverent. In the South of Italy the churches will often appear to us tawdry, and the spirit of the worshippers irreverent. They are really not tawdry to those who use them most (the people, after all, who count), nor do the people mean to be irreverent. It is only the way the temperament of the people expresses itself towards the same objects of veneration in all cases. And they are comfortably included in the same Church, all believing and practising

the same Faith, without difference of doctrine or ceremonial (except for some minute points as regards the latter). They form a standing example of the real comprehensiveness of the Catholic Church, not of the spurious, unnecessary comprehensiveness which it is sought to foist upon us, and to stereotype as our message. More than this, the Eucharistic Congress gave us a spectacle of still further comprehensiveness in ceremonial in the one Church, in its recognition of the National and peculiar rites of Uniat Orientals under the Roman obedience. And in Rome, at Christmastide, there is one Church (I forget which) where Mass is celebrated with a different rite every day for an octave at least, if not for longer, to emphasise this comprehensiveness. But if there are these ceremonial differences, and differences, too, in discipline (such as the concession of a married priesthood), in doctrine they all "say the same thing," and find it possible to do so. And in no age of the Church has she allowed universally recognised Christian doctrine to be denied by those within Her pale. If men have denied it, they have had to go.

But if I have read this "message" of comprehensiveness aright, it is no mere affair only of

ceremonial or discipline : it is a claim to allow, or at least to condone, the possibility of denials of things which have been accepted by the whole Church as true, by teachers who claim the authority of the Catholic Church. It is one thing to state the same things differently, according to a different mental or temperamental background : it is quite another thing to state different things, some more things, some less, to vary *the content* of theology, and not merely the presentation of something which covers the same ground in all cases. As to the effects of the "message," one wonders, to take a concrete instance, what a native, say, of Uganda would make of the positive message of the Anglican Communion if he moved to Zanzibar, or *vice versa*? I can imagine considerable spiritual discomfort, not to say dismay, as the result of his migration. And I have experienced discomfort myself and dismay of another sort, when I have been asked by Romans or Orientals to explain our message. When I try to convince them that I am only an ordinary English Churchman trying to live Her life, to reverence the things She reverences, to practise the things She practices, to act, in a word, as a Catholic Churchman, they annoy me (quite unintention-

ally, of course) by persisting in “But you are of the *High Church*.” They have seen the other side, too, in Continental chaplaincies or in churches under the C.M.S. And my message seems to be different. But I suppose our “message” is that the message *ought* to be different. And that, too, they would not and could not understand.

#### A DIVIDED FRONT.

Again, it is apparently a part of our “message” to present the excellences of a divided front. The “united front” is a thing discredited in modern warfare. That may be so, but is this to the point? The Christian warfare is as old as Christendom, much older, in fact, as old as Adam after the Fall. The weapons of the Evil One are always much the same, the same old stale temptations to body, mind, and spirit. Modern heresies, “New Theologies,” and the like arise, but they are only old long-ago exploded heresies after all, “neither new, nor theology.” How would the Church of a divided front have fared in the days of the great heresies, do you suppose? And yet the Greek intellect was at least as noble as anything we can produce, and the old civilisations were fairly complex, too.

And what if the united front has always been a characteristic mark of the Church—"that they may be one, that the world may believe," such an obvious unity that the casual world cannot help noticing it? Any student of the Fathers knows that they are full of the necessity for external unity, visibly shown, apparent to everyone.

It is true, of course, to say that "the historical development of the Church has never been uniform in all its parts." But I do not see how this helps us if it is said. Some churches have been more backward, less developed, less pure, than others. Take the modern instances of France, Chile, Abyssinia, and Assyria, and the fact is patent. But the ideal has always been there, the ideal of a real and realised unity to which men could point as the Catholic Church. The different parts have realised themselves, however imperfectly, as a whole, an organism and not a collection of units. If you ask me at what stage of development or progress the Abyssinian Church stands, then I have the materials for an answer, for I can treat that Church as a whole. But if you ask me the same question of the Anglican Communion, I have further to ask you, what section do you mean,

the High, the Low, or the Broad? I cannot give you an answer which will include the whole as a whole.

#### THE QUESTION OF JURISDICTION.

The “message” theory has further consequences. If it is distinctive it is necessary that the whole world shall have a chance of hearing it —this much is obvious. It is also obvious that the preaching of it will often necessitate the invasion of other previously established jurisdictions. And so a new theory of Episcopal jurisdiction becomes necessary. Nor have we to wait for it. “Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is primarily personal and not geographical.” Yet, strangely enough, bishops have usually been called after places, the head (doubtless “*inter pares*”) of the English Church is styled Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, not Primate of the Anglican Church, and such titles as the “Anglican” (or “the Roman”) Bishop of Southwark are abnormal. And the First Council of Nicæa (one of those which we accept) makes some careful arrangements about bishops, “*ἴνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο επίσκοποι ὥστιν*”<sup>9</sup>—(“that there may not be two bishops

<sup>9</sup>Canon VIII.

in one city"). And "when Novatian got himself ordained Bishop of Rome in opposition to Cornelius, he was generally condemned over all the world as transgressing the rule of the Catholic Church." Cyprian declares it as a maxim upon this occasion "that there ought to be but one bishop in a church at a time, and one judge as the vicegerent of Christ" ("unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacredos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur").<sup>10</sup> Two bishops were sometimes allowed, but such an arrangement was recognised as a compromise, and not a normal arrangement—in cases where a dispute could be ended by this means, or an inveterate schism healed. Neither parallel is inviting. Just as the "glorious comprehensiveness" theory merely takes things as they are, belauds them as excellent, and gives up the attempt to compose differences and so induce a real unity, so this new Episcopal theory (said to be backed by "the logic of facts," often very bad logic indeed if the principles on which conduct is based are unsound) takes the greater divisions of the Church as they are, and suggests no solution for their healing beyond the somewhat unoriginal one of letting them be. We may have to

<sup>10</sup>Bingham "Antiquities," Ch. VIII. p. 169.

acquiesce, with sorrow for our sins of schism, in a divided Christendom for the moment, and to make such arrangements as we can—*from sheer necessity*, under the circumstances. But the arrangements we make of divided jurisdictions are to be recognised as an evil, and only necessary under abnormal circumstances. They can hardly, I should have thought, be defended on any other ground than that of hard and sorrowful expedience. To erect three Communions with differing “messages” is, it seems to me, to strike a nail into the coffin of ultimate re-union.

#### THE CHURCH OF FUTURE RE-UNION.

And this brings me to the last plea in justification of “glorious comprehensiveness,” that our central position between Catholicism and Protestantism (with a judicious blend of both) destines us to be the Church of future re-union. Did not the oft-quoted De Maistre<sup>11</sup> say so? And did not the Greek Archbishop of Zante say so, fifteen years ago, at the Chicago “World’s Parliament of Religions?” Would to God they might be right!

<sup>11</sup>But we do not so often quote that other saying of De Maistre, “Precious as the Church of England is in many respects, she occupies the position of a rebel preaching obedience.”

But in spite of the polite sentiments (no doubt not merely polite) of individual Frenchmen or Greeks, Romans or Easterns, there does not seem much to back up their opinion when it comes to official attitudes—attitudes which, mind you, are what would have to count in the restoration of inter-communion. And the irony of it all is that it is just what is said to be our distinctive message which will be the stumbling-block.

As regards the Roman Church, there can be no question as to this. Rome stands, if she stands for anything at all, for authority and discipline, and “glorious comprehensiveness” weakens both, if it does not absolutely sweep them away amid the litter of the obsolete. And as regards the Easterns, here is an extract from an official letter<sup>12</sup> written by the Metropolitans of St. Petersburg and Moscow, together with four other bishops, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, only seven and a half years ago. “Love and goodwill cannot but call forth love on our side also and nourish in us the good hope of the possibility of Church union with them (Anglicans) in the future. But here, also, much still remains to be done and to be

<sup>12</sup>See “Guardian,” Aug. 26, and Sept. 2, 1903.

explained before that it will be possible to think of any definite step in one or the other direction. And, first of all, it is indispensable that the desire for union with the Eastern Orthodox Church should become the sincere desire not only of a certain fraction of Anglicanism (the "High Church"), but of the whole Anglican community, that the purely Calvinistic current which in essence rejects the Church, as we understand Her, and whose attitude towards Orthodoxy is one of particular intolerance, should be absorbed in the above-mentioned pure current, and should lose its perceptible, if we may not say exclusive, influence upon the whole church life of this confession, which, in the main, is exempt from enmity towards us."

An outside view is wholesome and salutary! Note "the High Church," and the "purely Calvinistic current," and "if we may not say exclusive." Note, too, "the Church as we understand Her"—the Church of Orthodoxy and of tradition. "Unity in diversity" has almost unchurched us! The only hope the Russian bishops had for it was that it might vanish, "absorbed in a pure current."

We are to go on to consider this modern "message" of a Catholic Church under other

aspects in succeeding chapters. But, meanwhile, if we have been dissatisfied (to say the least) with it before, we shall probably count it not the smallest of its defects that it absolutely and irretrievably cuts away from us any hope which we may have entertained of being an important instrument in the hands of Almighty God for the ultimate re-union of Christendom

#### OUR SEPARATED BRETHREN.

There remains the case of our separated brethren. No Christian, most of all no Catholic, can hope for less than the ultimate re-union of *all* Christians, can take less than that as his ideal. Least of all can Anglican Churchmen, whose part of the Church has been in some ways responsible for their separation, leave them out of the prayer "*ut omnes unum sint.*" But it is those who have most to give who will most attract. The fact was recognised in at least one paper or speech at the Pan-Anglican Congress. One respects a man of inflexible demands, one knows where he stands. The man who will bargain with you is the man you will bargain with in your turn. As you take home your cheap purchase you think less of the thing purchased than of the concession you may

have wrung from the seller. But if you have had to pay dear, the pedestal or the glass-case comes into requisition. These are homely metaphors, but perhaps they will serve as well as others. A shrewd friend of mine, somewhat given to paradox which turns out true after one's first gasp, once observed to me that if we really wanted to win the masses we should keep our churches jealously guarded and admit to our services only by ticket. We should make it really difficult for people to get in: then they would come in crowds. This is a commonplace in social events: invitations difficult to get are just the invitations which people most want. It is a law of human nature. If you debase your coinage, who will care for your money? If you want keen members, you will make your club-rules strict. Why do Dissenters come over to the Church? Because they realise that the Church has something valuable to give them: the more strictness, the more value. I have known ex-Dissenters who have done so; they are now, for the most part, Catholics. And I expect you have noticed this yourself. Look at Dr. Newman Smyth's "*Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism.*" Would such a book have been produced if the good Doctor had been

standing in front of an institution ready to give away things (not her own, by the way) with both hands and both feet? I think not. Look at this by Dr. Briggs, an American Protestant: "The more advanced Protestant scholars have been working for half a century and more to lead Christianity back to Jesus Christ, and have only partially succeeded. If now the Pope, as the head of the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the reverence and obedience given him by that whole Church as the successor of St. Peter and the living representative of our Lord, can succeed in raising up Catholics throughout the world to this exalted position of reforming everything in Christ, there will be ere long the greatest revival and reformation known to history, and the Protestant Churches will have to hasten themselves to keep pace with it." You see, the Papal Church, that unbending, inflexible institution, is the standard to be lived up to. Compare this with the statement of an American delegate at the Pan-Anglican Congress, as to the way in which "our separated brethren" over there regard the same Communion. "They will never for a moment submit to Rome (this is surely to speak '*ex animo*,' rather than '*ex facto*': many have submitted for this very

reason we are advocating), but they admire the splendid command she has over her own resources; they see with what vigour she is building up her organisation, and all that in spite of her utter lack of sympathy with the character and methods of reformed thought and life."<sup>13</sup> Transfer these words to the Church of the first centuries, set to beacon Her light forth upon a heathen world (not that I suggest for a moment, God forbid! that the Dissenters are "heathen"; only they are in opposition to the Church, that furnishes the parallel), "in spite of Her utter lack of sympathy with the character and modes of (contemporary) thought and life." Did they stay outside? No, they came in, not in spite of, but *because* of the "lack of sympathy." The Church had something far better to give, that was why. And She spoke then, as always if true to Herself, with a decided voice.

There is one more fact to be noticed, a fact which, curiously enough, eludes observation. It is the difference in the fundamental ground-work of belief between Catholics and Protestants. The Protestant accepts doctrines one by one, as he has submitted them singly and piecemeal to his private judgment. The

<sup>13</sup>Report, p. 60.

Catholic accepts the Faith *en bloc* on the authority of the Church, because, confessedly, the Church has the right to speak and knows far better than he does. Any Dissenter who comes into the Church, or any Churchman who is in full communion with the Church on any other ground than the frank recognition that "the Church hath *authority in Controversies of Faith*" (to quote one of our own Articles), remains a Protestant still, and is in false relationship to the Faith of the Church.

So that our "glorious comprehensiveness" has again this further defect that it positively prevents those who would from learning the first lesson of Catholicism, obedience to the voice of the Church speaking as the Voice of God.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HIGH LINE AND THE LOW LINE

THE problem which every society has to face, both in its inception and throughout the whole of its life, is the adjustment of the claim of the society to obedience and the claim of the individual to liberty. The society must needs call for obedience in its members, and subordination of individual wishes to the general aim of the society. Otherwise there is anarchy, at least futility. A society of divided aims cannot pursue its work in the world. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The more united the aim, the greater the subordination of the members, the more work it can do. On the other hand, too great rigidity, too little concern for the liberty of the individual, will also tend towards paralysis of aim. The aim may become narrowed, the obedience mechanical. Hearts may not be in the work, interest unaroused, obedience given merely for the sake of obedi-

ence, and not for the sake of a realised common aim. In which case enthusiasm may be carried out for burial.

It would be true to say the same things of any school of learning. The educationist (or is it educationalist?) has the same problems to face as he stands before his class. It will not do to allow false quantities, but too much prosody may paralyse inspiration. The wise student will take his prosody for granted, as an acquired fact, and will gently constrain a turbulent muse into right, if narrow, ways. Afterwards there will be the blessed reward of exceptions, permitted (not too lavishly) to genius.

The Christian Church has, of course, like all other societies, felt the problem, and is continually feeling it. How to advance its aims with the full driving force of a united body; how to prevent the unity from becoming mechanical, and preserve "live" membership. Thus far it shares in the common dilemma. But only thus far. The unique character of its foundation, and the aim for which it exists, bring in further considerations. It claims direct foundation from an Incarnate God: it claims to bestow life which man must accept as a gift, but cannot wrest as a spoil: it claims the possession of truths which

the laboratory and the study will not yield, but which God alone could reveal, and came to reveal. So there is a necessary note almost of arbitrariness in its claim to obedience. "It hath been said by them of old time . . . but *I* say unto you, 'He that believeth on *Me*, hath everlasting life,' 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'" The function of the believer is to "bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ": he is a "slave" bound in absolute submission to One "Whose service is perfect freedom." The society has further the promise of continued Divine guidance, "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come He shall guide you into all the truth." A society with such credentials is not arbitrary, but only most truly reasonable when it claims the absolute submission of its members. When God speaks, reason itself dictates submission. True liberty consists in a true understanding of the conditions of life, and obedience to them. The man who repudiates the Ten Commandments is not a free man, but a libertine. So the man who will not accept God's truth, knowing it to be God's truth, is not a "free thinker," but an intellectual profligate; for "*the truth* shall make you free." Thus it is the Christian Church which alone of all socie-

ties can claim the absolute obedience and submission of the intellects and wills of its members, in the secure consciousness that thereby it is providing not only for the efficiency of its aims, but also for the freedom of the individual. It is, after all, the "sanction" for authority which makes authority really successful.

One is not surprised, then, to find authority a dominant note in the Christian Church, the claim to impose doctrine and to compel assent to it. The Church would be a poor sort of Mother if She did not, knowing that such compulsion was in the highest interests of her children. Thus, from Her divine Founder down throughout Her history, Her voice has always spoken in tones of command, with, of course, the undercurrent of entreaty and warning. "He that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." So St. Paul, "though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Could anything be more strongly said, or more arbitrarily announced? There are frequent parallels in his writings. So the first Council of the Church, held at Jerusalem, "It hath

seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." No stronger sanction could be imagined, and no closer identification of the voice of the Church with the voice of God. So all through. Councils are held, Creeds are drawn up and imposed. Those who differ are anathematised and cast out, as offenders against God's declared will, blind repudiators of the light of His declared truth. Unanimous submission is always expected of Her children, and not only expected, but obtained. We have already noticed the unanimity of the Apostolic College. It is reasonable: it is natural. They had heard God's voice; more, they had seen God Himself Incarnate: naturally they submitted their wills and their "point of view" to Him. There are few things more remarkable (or more natural) than the confident way in which the religion of Christ cast itself upon the world, cutting across long-established modes of thought and habit, both Oriental and Greek, and expected unanimity in its followers. Humanly speaking, division, "schools of thought," and so on, might have been expected. When they are met with they are repudiated at once with the wondering, "Is Christ divided?" It is true that our Lord Himself warns us of divisions, even in the inti-

macies of a household. But they are divisions between those who will obey Him and those who will not. Among those who will obey, unity is to be the first and foremost mark, a unity as close as between the Father and the Son ("that they may be one, even as We are one").

Has, then, the intellect no place, reason no place, reverent speculation no place? In the case of an institution which has welcomed and honoured a St. Paul, a St. Clement of Alexandria, an Athanasius, a St. Thomas Aquinas, a Newman, the question is otiose. But it is an intellect and a reason submitted to the voice of the Church for approbation and for confirmation, lest the Faith of Christ's little ones should suffer.

#### WHERE ROME AND CANTERBURY HAVE DRAWN THE LINE.

Let us now go on to notice two different attempts which have been made to adjust the claim of the society and the individual in the Christian Church. "Where the rest of the Western Church," men were told by the two writers referred in the first lines of this essay, "has drawn the line exceedingly low down,

specifying every detail of belief with extreme strictness and minute precaution, we have seen that the Church of England has drawn the line, for good or for evil, exceedingly high."

First as to "the rest of the Western Church." Undoubtedly the Roman Catholic Church has "drawn the line exceedingly low down." At first sight, at any rate, we shall probably subscribe, too, to the adjective "extreme": we may even substitute "excessive." Authority, even arbitrary authority, is the prominent note which is most commonly associated with her name. More than that, she is frequently accused of stretching authority beyond all just and due limits, and of adding to the Faith. She has, her critics say, gone altogether too far: moreover, she has been imprudent. Thus she has (at least almost, if not quite) fastened upon her members a philosophical interpretation of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence which it is hard to square with the categories of modern philosophy. At any rate, this is the objection which is commonly made. But Roman theologians will be found to have a good deal to say for themselves, if we will read them (and they are really worth reading!). And it has been said, I believe, on

our side that at the base of all our controversy with Roman Catholics on the subject of Transubstantiation it will probably be found that they have affirmed it in one sense and we have denied it in another.

The Roman Catholic Church has also imposed two further doctrines to be accepted as *de fide* which were not so imposed before, namely, the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, and the Infallibility of the Pope. Perhaps we may look at these a little before passing on. And the fact that so large a number of Christians have subscribed to them as authoritative may make us feel that it is worth while doing so. Thus if it has been revealed to us that St. John the Baptist was declared to have been sanctified while still unborn, there will probably be no difficulty in believing that the Blessed Mother of God had the higher privilege of being sanctified (of course by the mercy and power of "God, my Saviour") from the very moment that she began to have spiritual being at all. As to the other doctrine, if the Petrine claims are true, if our blessed Lord in His supreme desire for unity did indeed appoint a centre of unity for His Church (which would, other things being equal, seem to be the most natural means of

securing it), there seems little or no difficulty in believing that He has endowed His Vicar with the gift of making infallible pronouncements. Here, again, it *may* be possible (I don't say that it is: I am merely glancing at these things and not discussing them) to urge with success that they have grown out of the Christian consciousness: that the Holy Spirit has shown them to be true with sufficient plainness: that in defining them the Church has merely listened to His voice and registered His decision: that they thus institute a real advance in the apprehension of the fulness of the Faith. It *may* be that in this the Roman Communion has been a pioneer and not a backslider. Only there is this real objection that *the whole Church* has not ratified these dogmas. But it has had no opportunity of doing so. It is at least conceivable that it *may* come to do so some day, when it has. And we must remember, in fairness, that the Roman Church considers itself to be the whole Church, and therefore to have competence to define doctrine, just as it was defined at Nicæa or any other General Council.

Be that as it may, in the meantime we may go on to ask whether it is a good thing to draw the line so low, to have so much definition, whether

our “high line” is not more appropriately placed.

#### ROME CRITICISED.

The Roman Catholic way has been criticised somewhat after this fashion :

It is a mistake to multiply dogmas : it puts an unnecessary strain upon the Faithful.

If the Church, the home of the Holy Spirit, comes to the deliberate and careful conclusion that a point in the Christian Faith, hitherto a matter of controversy, has at any time been made plain by the same Holy Spirit, She has no choice in the matter. For the safety of the Faith of Her children She is bound to speak. You will notice that we are not here dealing with the *grounds* of such a conclusion : merely with the fact that the conclusion has been arrived at by authority. It is not otherwise that we gained our Creeds. And you will realise that there are many who, in the name of Truth, object to any Creeds at all, on precisely the same grounds as are brought against the Roman Church—that “dogmas are a mistake.”

Observe once more that I am not here dealing with the question as to whether the dogmas rest on sufficient basis, only with the general question

of the imposition of dogma. And as for the acceptance of it: it is bound up with the question of the authority of the Church. And it is a poor conception of this authority which can say, "I will follow you when you say this: but not when you say that." It is surely an irrational way in which to approach a Divine Society. If men, once convinced of Her claims to speak, reject or repudiate Her when She says something they do not like, then they have never really appreciated Her claims at all. Before 1870 high dignitaries of the Roman Church had argued with all their might against Papal Infallibility, or, at least, the definition of it as an article of the Faith. But after it had been promulgated in a way in which they were bound, on their own principles, to recognise as authoritative, they of course submitted their private opinions, strongly as they may have held them before, to the voice of the Church. No doubt it was a strain, and the strain proved too much for a weak minority, who have since existed as a struggling body which has, apparently, made little stir in the world and evoked little sympathy. The vast majority of the Roman Church accepted it, and maintains and defends it with enthusiasm, which becomes the greater as clearer ideas are gained as to what

the dogma really commits them to. Of course they accepted it: on their own principles they were bound to.

If it be objected, again, that the multiplication of dogmas tends to produce insincerity in profession, that the Christian Creed contained as many articles of belief already as any one could grasp and make his own, then I would remind you that Christian dogmas are not unrelated units, but are part of a related whole. They are but expressions of the original Creed, "I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." Once this basis is made our own, everything else is easier of apprehension, being in the nature of logical deductions from this all-important first principle. The multiplication of such deductions (admitting them to be sound and certified) does not constitute a hardship to belief, but an aid in further apprehension of the first principle. Dr. Ward was not so very far out when he expressed a wish for an infallible pronouncement as a daily accompaniment to his breakfast. He was only out in his idea of the uses of infallibility, the danger not of belief being made too difficult, but too facile. He forgot (if he was really serious) that God's method is not to cram,

but to educate, the method of any true teacher.

As to the insincerity in profession, I would ask how many average English churchpeople do you suppose have any adequate grasp of the first principle we have indicated? Question the average man as to what he thinks of the "*Deum verum de Deo vero*," and you will likely be startled at the reply. If it is orthodox it will be as often as not followed by "I have always been taught to believe this," which is exactly what an averagely instructed Roman Churchman would say of the Papal Infallibility or the Immaculate Conception. In both cases it is a vote of confidence in the teacher; and that in the case of an infallible teacher is important. It carries with it a trust not only in the things taught, but a more especial trust that the pupil is in good hands and will be capably dealt with.

There may be the further objection that the multiplication of dogmas tends to confuse, to take the attention away from the first principles rather than to them. As to this I would ask you whether slackness in instructing her children in the central doctrines of the Faith is the charge which any well-informed man would care to bring against the Roman Church, taking a

general average and not isolated and exceptional cases? If there is much prominence given to our Lady and the Saints, can we, who commonly forget them, show anything like the same devotion to our Lord as they do in their own way, in visits to the Tabernacle, in the service of Benediction, in the cult of the Sacred Heart, not to mention (because it is not "their own way" but the way of every Catholic) devotion to the Mass? In having a care for the deductions our Roman brethren have not thereby lost their grasp of the first principles; in devotion to His Mother and His friends, they have not forgotten the Son and the Saviour.

#### THE HIGH LINE AND THE LOW LINE.

As to the dogmatic policy of the Roman Catholic Church causing the alienation of many, it has to be remembered that most of this alienation has to be attributed directly to the political schemes which, rightly or wrongly, she sees fit to pursue. In France, to take one instance, the nation may practically be divided for political purposes into Church and Republic. A Republican *ipso facto* (speaking generally, of course there are exceptions) tends to cease to be a practising Catholic. Officers in the army or

navy who are known to go to Mass are penalized in their profession for so doing. So there is this large factor to be taken into account. But on the larger question we may remember that our Blessed Lord Himself was content to let people go who would not receive what He taught (a reference to St. John vi. 60-67 is enough to illustrate this). And it has been the same, as we have seen, throughout the whole long course of Church History. Is indeed "the disciple above his Master?" Can it be contended that the Church has more love for Her children than He had, and ought therefore to show them more consideration than He did? There is such a thing as "playing to the gallery" by public bodies as well as by private individuals. And it is always futile.

I admit that the alienation of "intellectuals" seems at first sight a huge evil. It appears the huger in that it is one which is brought into special prominence in the present day. At a time when there is almost a worship of the intellect, on account of its wonderful trophies (modern science, the historical method, among them), we must and do feel special sympathy with intellectual people when difficulties seem to be thrust upon them. But for whom does the

Church exist, for an intellectual few or for an unintellectual many? Or for both? For both of course: but for all, too. The appeal of the Church is not, after all, exclusively, or even primarily, to the intellect, but to the heart and will. And She has to safeguard all Her children, if possible: if not, at least as many as possible. And every soul is equal, as a soul, in the sight of Her Founder. And is there not such a thing as intellectual pride? Is it not exactly and precisely the sin which most dogs the steps of the intellectual? There is also "the charcoal burner" to be considered, and he may not be left out. And there are more "charcoal burners" than we commonly realise. Respectability and a showy half-education may have washed his hands and combed his hair, and he may have exchanged his forests for the mart or even for the club. But he is there all the same. And is the charge true? Has the Roman Church been so conspicuously devoid of "intellectuals" in theology, in letters, in historical study, in science, in other branches of learning? And supposing some do suffer, what is their suffering for? It is for the "charcoal burner," a tribute of brotherhood which will not be without its reward at the hands of the Father of all.

Perhaps some of us have read "What we Want," a translation of a rather bombastic and self-conscious letter to Pius X., written by a group of "Modernist" priests. We sympathise, we think they have been badly treated. We pour contempt upon the Index and Inquisition: they are an insult to the march of the ages. Rather, they are too feeble to be an insult; it is as though one served out bows and arrows in a modern barracks. But are we quite sure we have studied it all, or would an examination at the Vatican, subject "Modernism," send us away "ploughed" and shamed? Take down your Loisy, or your Tyrrell, and read them, and see what they bring you to. You are also enthusiastic about the "Encyclopædia Biblica"? No? Then why expect the Vatican to open arms to Loisy or to Tyrrell? Perhaps you will come to agree with the *British Weekly* (in recent numbers) "so far as we have been able to follow it, the Modernist movement is essentially an infidel movement . . . there are Christians in it no doubt. The perplexities and distresses and confusions of Father Tyrrell in that strange medley, '*Oil and Wine*,' do not disguise the fact that he is clinging with a desperate

hold to some saving truths."<sup>14</sup> Neither Rome nor any other Church should be expected to bless "an infidel movement," or to accredit a priest "clinging with desperate hold to some saving truths." For God's sake let us be just, and not merely sentimental or prejudiced. The *South African Church Quarterly Review*, commenting on the above remarks of the *British Weekly*, says, "this is an eminently sane judgment upon the Modernist Controversy, upon which so many Anglicans have gone hopelessly wrong. We have been sickened and disgusted with Anglican effusions of sympathy with Loisy and Tyrrell. Another ten years will show us that Pius X. and his advisers were wise in their generation, and *that they have virtually saved Europe from abandoning the Faith of Nicæa.*" (Italics mine.)

If you ask me whether I prefer an infidel movement and freedom of speech, or the Faith of Nicæa and the Inquisition, then I unreservedly make choice of Nicæa. If it is a triumph of tyranny, then I am all for the triumphs of tyranny, if they turn out so well as this. We have our own forms of Modernism at home.

<sup>14</sup>This was written before Fr. Tyrrell's death. May the God of all truth be merciful to him, and may he rest in peace.

They are called Undenominationalism and Pandenominationalism. Do we think them healthy developments, or would we willingly see them suppressed, if we had the power to suppress them, in the interests of the Truth itself, and of the Faith of the simple? Whatever truth may ultimately emerge from the Modernist movement (and it will probably be much less than people are inclined to think) will, of course, prevail. Everything that is virile and valuable emerges all the stronger and more precious from "the refiner's fire." And the Holy Roman Church, through her very wisdom in applying vigorous tests, will, as in the past so in the future, encourage it to prevail, not in spite of her, but because of her faithful proof of its worth.

#### THE LOW LINE SUMMED UP.

Now let us sum up the "Low Line" (i.e., the Roman) and see what it is doing in everyday life. It provides the daily Mass, wherever possible, in every parish. In many parishes more than once daily is the Holy Sacrifice offered, the Bread of Life provided. There is a minute and anxious care for the souls of the humblest in the discipline of Penance, administered by men specially trained for this most difficult of all work.

There is a witness everywhere to the whole Faith of the Church. To the world there is presented the spectacle of a Church which does indeed "know its own mind," and which can call on the obedience of its children to further the common aim. In the majority of cases this obedience is unquestioning and enthusiastic. The zeal and devotion of the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics to the cause of the Church is too commonly known to need further words of mine to prove it. Are we to suppose that every Cardinal, Bishop, Priest, layman, who is a zealous and ardent Roman Catholic gives but the mechanical obedience of those who must, and not the loving and enthusiastic obedience of those who may? Are we to suppose, further, that every Roman Catholic who willingly submits to the voice of the Church is either a fool or a knave? The question has only to be asked to be answered.

#### THE HIGH LINE CONSIDERED.

Has then the "Low Line" shown itself so very ineffectual? And is it so very unlike the way in which the Church has always worked? Now let us turn to the "High Line" (i.e., the Anglican). If I have shown an obvious admira-

tion for the "Low Line," then I beg to draw your attention to it, and to credit me with bias if you like. At least I have warned you. And I beg you to believe that I am fully alive (I hope) to the splendid work which has been done and is being done under our "High Line" system. I do not forget the difficulties under which our system was started and under which it has laboured ever since. But I think, quite frankly, that the "Low Line" is a more faithful following of the usual way in which the Catholic Church has worked. And the whole object of these pages is to bear testimony to a splendid work marred, because precious experience has been neglected, to point to difficulties which need not and which ought not to exist, if we would bestir ourselves to remove them. To go on, then. The Reformers were faced with one of the most difficult tasks which poor unfortunate men have ever had to undertake. The work of reformation is always difficult, reformation in the Church most difficult of all, because of the supreme importance of Her aims, and the fact that even abuses have claimed some part of Her supreme sanction. But here was a reformation of unprecedented magnitude, undertaken in a time of extraordinary upset and turmoil, with the

beacons of the New Learning gleaming fiercely and blindingly, rendering the path difficult to see by the very intensity of their glare. And as to the beacons themselves, men were in horrid uncertainty as to whether they were the true beacons which were to guide into port, or the false beacons of wreckers which were to lure to destruction on the rocks.

It is the fashion to speak of a "Reformation Settlement:" if ever there has been in all the history of the Western Church an age when the likelihood of a settlement emerging was less probable than that age was the Age of the Reformation.

#### ENFORCED UNIFORMITY.

Besides all this the Reformers were hampered by the need of squaring their work with the traditional conception of the necessary unity of the Church. The English Church was to exhibit the customary marks by which the world was to believe in its unity. That is to say there was to be uniformity in doctrine and practice. Indeed in the latter respect a more stringent uniformity was sought than prevailed before. Diocesan "Uses" were to go: *Ecclesia Anglicana* was henceforth to have one "Use." And

this uniformity was to be enforced, and rigidly enforced. And, as usual, the State was to enforce it. There is nothing surprising in this: the Church had long learned to find the State useful. "Kings" were "her nursing fathers" in a very real and effectual sense, without too much of the tenderness which we now associate with the methods of the nursery. We are not unfamiliar with this in our day. The Holy Synod in Russia and Royal Commissions and Privy Councils in our own country have kept us *au fait* with such aids to the Church. And where the Church has been strong in Herself under Her own strong rulers, perhaps not much harm has been done. It is where the "nursing father" has treated himself as head of the household that real mischief has set in.

With this uniformity the Reformers had to square their material, and the material was difficult and recalcitrant. They had to include all the King's subjects, if possible, and these subjects were divided in opinion. Royal authority in questions of belief was an ineffectual substitute for the former unmistakable Church authority. The Pope might command assent, as Christ's Vicar: the King could not claim the same obedience, and the King or the Queen, as

the case was, was known to be at the back of the movement. And if Luther and Calvin could defy ■ Pope, much more could their followers defy a King or a Queen.

Popular cries were strong, and dissonant. And the dissonance was to be heard, though perhaps in more related keys, also in the ranks of the Reformers themselves.

Such was their task; to keep a discordant nation together, and to speak with an authority which was insufficient to resolve the discords. Hence the necessity for the "truly British virtue" of compromise. The Church must teach what She could, rather than what She would. Sheer *vox populi* became, in some sense and to some extent, *vox Dei*.

#### THE GENESIS OF GLORIOUS COMPREHENSIVENESS.

With all this I do not wish to forget a real necessity, and a real desire, for a true reform, and also the real desire to find a true basis for reform in the appeal to antiquity. But what I wish to emphasise here is that the conditions requisite for a true reform were wanting. And the main condition was conspicuously wanting, the power to carry the reforms into effect by eliciting the continued obedience of the children

of the Church to the voice of their mother. For other voices had entered in, the rebellious cries of the children had, in some cases, drowned the mother's sweet but commanding tones. And so She seems to us to speak with faltering accents, as we hear Her in our formularies. Such was the genesis of "glorious comprehensiveness :" *vox populi* has sometimes drowned *vox Dei*.

And so its practical results are, considering its origin, not surprising. We have looked at some of them in our first two chapters, so we need not dwell upon them again. But we may perhaps make one or two further remarks.

(1) As to doctrine: it has been possible for a learned English bishop to declare, concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist—(Bp. Gore in "The Body of Christ," Ch. IV., pp. 233, 234)—no secondary point, notice, but a fundamental doctrine, that "It appears to be therefore certain that Hooker would still be justified, as far as the Anglican standards taken by themselves are concerned—even since the revision of the Prayer Book in 1662—in seeking to shelve the question of any presence in the elements apart from the act of receiving: and that even Waterland, in going further and denying any such pre-

sence, was not transgressing the limits of allowed opinion." This is a serious enough concession to "glorious comprehensiveness" in all conscience! Truly a "high line" indeed!

(2) There never has been a "Reformation Settlement" at all in any real sense. "Be our paper doctrines what they may," wrote Manning in 1850, while still with us, "we have had contradictory bishops, priests, and people for 300 years on baptism, the real presence, the sacrifice, the absolution, priesthood, rule of faith, the very constitution and authority and identity of the Church." The drawing of the line does not appear to have been very skilful!

The truth is, obviously, that we have had a paper settlement. "If men would only stick to the Prayer Book," some say, "all would be well." Not altogether, you will agree with me, I think. Much has been lost which needs regaining. But the point is that no one ever has stuck to it. The Church has, at times, tried to enforce assent to the doctrines it stands for, the practices it enjoins. But the Church has always been powerless. And why? Solely in the interests of the theory of "glorious comprehensiveness." And this is the theory which it is now proposed to proclaim, to stereotype, to officialize

as the peculiar "message" of the Anglican Communion. It is a theory which has, apparently, made the doctrine of the "Real Absence" tenable amongst us, and it has given us the luxury of "contradictory bishops, priests, and people" on most important doctrines of the Faith.—More, it has allowed the mother herself to be bowed out of her own household, her voice silenced, her authority abrogated.

#### IT HAS FAILED TO UNITE.

And it has not even done what it set out to do! Where is the united nation, all included in one "comprehensive Church?" A good third of it stays outside, uncharmed, unwon. And if we look abroad, to say nothing of our own colonies, there is that great daughter of England, who has become a sister, the United States of America, an English-speaking empire. And there the Church of the English-speaking people can number but a bare one per cent. of the citizens as communicants. The theory of "*vox populi, vox Dei.*" Does it really come to that? Well, look at a modern instance of its working. An aggrieved parishioner appeals to his bishop against the preaching of some Catholic doctrine, or the adoption of some Catholic practice (both

doctrine and practice amply covered by our formularies). What is the bishop likely to do, judging by past experience in such things? He is likely (is it not so?) either to tell the priest that the people are not to be disturbed, or that they are to have a voice in the ceremonial, or that (in a town parish) the parishioner had better go to some other Church where he will get *what he likes*.

And you will hear an echo of it in the Report of the Committee of the last Lambeth Conference on "Prayerbook adaptation and enrichment" (Report cited—p. 125). "To many Churchmen, moreover, a brief commemoration of the faithful in Paradise would be inexpressibly welcome." Why "brief," one wonders? Notice the reason given for this "enrichment." Not—"the Church teaches, and therefore . . .", but, "the people wish, and therefore . . ." And we have been further familiarised with this sort of thing in Prayer-book Revision efforts since.

And what have we gained by it all? We live in an atmosphere of continuous argument and dispute, even about most important doctrines of the Church. The melting-pot seethes merrily, and "glorious comprehensiveness" sees to the

fire being kept up. The theological gymnast rejoices, secure in his training-school. Outside there will be uncharity and suspicion, if not actual turmoil and strife. It may be a bracing and breezy atmosphere: it cannot be said to be very comfortable. And there is something to be said for "love, joy, and peace." There are many souls who simply cannot stand the continuous breezes and want of calm, and whose interest in the melting-pot, when their own treasures are therein, arises from more than curiosity. We do not do over-well with our "charcoal-burners." And often one of two things happens. Either they make a supreme effort, full of pain and wrench and distress, and depart to another communion where there is more warmth and fewer gales. They are disloyal, we say, but have we helped them much to be loyal? They should have stayed where God placed them, but have we made it very easy for them to stay? Some part of their fault remains with us. Or else, stupefied and bewildered by the fumes of the melting-pot, they shut their doors and say "one way is as good as another"—and all further truth may knock in vain at them: or again they may become absolutely indifferent and disgusted with the whole subject

of religion. It is not an unknown phenomenon these days.

How can we blame them? It is not given to everyone to have the necessary education and training to balance arguments, and that is what it comes to. Probably the majority of people are like that: we are most of us "charcoal-burners" *au fond*.

Of course, if the Church of God is really a sort of eclectic club of "intellectuals," all this is quite as it should be. But if Her Founder had a special care for His "little ones"—what then?

## CHAPTER V

### STEPS ON THE WAY OUT

In ordinary life if a result strikes us unfavourably, we naturally turn to the examination of the cause. If the water from my well goes bad or makes me ill, I get the well examined. And if I find it hopelessly polluted, I set about to have another one dug. In a day when all things are flung into the melting-pot, first principles, and august and long-established institutions, are apt to go into it also. We have seen that the "glorious comprehensiveness" theory started at the Reformation. We have not seen, I think, much reason to approve of it. I ask, then, why of all the ages in the history of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, are we to take the results of that extraordinarily unsettled age as fixed, unquestionable, irrevocable? If I, quite naturally, refuse infallibility to Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, am I to attribute it to Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley? And I am fortified

in my refusal to consider the Reformation as a sort of millennium by two remarks made at the Pan-Anglican Congress. One was by Dr. Kinsolving, "Within the last fifty years God has set our feet in a larger room. We have come to trust in a progressive Anglicanism whose new wine burst the wine-skins of the Reformation period, and won a larger liberty on every side!"<sup>15</sup> The other was by the Chairman of Section F, the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, "I yield to none in reverencing the English Reformation: but if I am asked to see in it a formative period of our Church history, to regard it as the norm of our development in perpetuity, I can only say that I will not do so."

To both of these remarks I append a fervent "Amen," except that I willingly yield to his Lordship in reverence for the Reformation. I also "have come to trust in a progressive Anglicanism." I also refuse to regard the Reformation as "the norm of our development in perpetuity" (God forbid!). It is likely enough that my "progressive Anglicanism" may develop in other directions than the speaker quoted would approve. But if others may "dream dreams" in their way, why may not I in mine?

<sup>15</sup>Report, p. 118. *Ibid* p. 82.

Let us turn then to the Reformation. We have long been taught to stand admiringly before the picture of "a nation struggling to be free" from the hateful and usurped domination of a rapacious foreign ruler. The Church of England had always been free: did not *Magna Charta* say so? (It did of course, but not in the sense of freedom from the Pope.) Strong kings, e.g., William the Conqueror, had always protested against Papal domination, and Henry VIII., undoubtedly a strong king, was only carrying into practical effect the protests of his predecessors. It is true that there was an unfortunate divorce incident, and it was a pity that Henry's matrimonial propensities were so marked and excessive. But the divorce question was only the last straw, and the camel was only too willing and ready to be eased of the burden upon its back. This is an effective picture, painted in strong, not to say lurid, colours. As we gazed upon it we felt abundantly satisfied that our position of isolation, then begun, was amply justified. Or we have been taken to another picture in the gallery. There is a ship labouring into port, "sails tattered, cordage rent," some of the bulwarks gone, and the usual evidence of loss through violence of a tempest. We have de-

plored the tempest and we have given thanks (and rightly so, and very profound thanks) that more was not lost. But we have been complaisant about the tempest: it was necessary, and inevitable, and no fault of ours. The winds of the New Learning had set it agoing, and the seething indignation of a discontented people had been the waves. Then perhaps some unkind (really most truly kind) and candid friend had put upon the easel another picture.

There was another and much bigger ship, riding the same storm, but riding it without loss, through the careful steering of a more capable and respected helmsman and the better seamanship of a crew more accustomed to obey. It was a picture of the rest of the Western Church as she appeared after the reforming Council of Trent. We did not somehow feel so pleased afterwards with our own picture, so sure that there need have been all this loss and damage, if the steering had been more capable and the crew more in hand.

And what if we are asked, in the name of history and sound learning, to take down our first picture and to substitute another, because the first picture was untrue to nature, out in its drawing, faulty in perspective, crude in colour-

ing? Such a request need not unduly surprise us. "History," said a sound historian once, "is in itself research, and a research constantly expecting and receiving revision."<sup>16</sup> Much work has been done on the Reformation period of late years by careful historians. One of these, Dr. James Gairdner, has devoted much of his life to the study of original manuscripts, and is justly recognised as an authority. He says of the period, "the copious stores of documents now available have rendered many long-cherished views untenable: but the results are as yet imperfectly known, and it is to be feared that the truth on very important subjects will have much prejudice to encounter before it can win general acceptance."<sup>17</sup> Obviously, there is need for another picture.

As to the "nation struggling to be free," there was nothing of the sort. No doubt there were grievances: no doubt people grumbled, as people always will. But "the historian has made it clear that the Reformation was not the work of the English nation as a nation. . . . It was not the nation that chose the Reformation, it

<sup>16</sup>Bp. Stubbs, in his 2nd Visitation Charge.

<sup>17</sup>"A History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century from Henry VIII. to Mary."—*Preface*.

was the court party that forced the Reformation on the nation."<sup>18</sup> Parliament was packed with the king's nominees. The nobles were bribed by spoils sacrilegiously wrested from the monasteries, on the pretexts furnished by a lying commission. The clergy were coerced in the most brutal manner. Convocation sat under the inspiriting shadow of the gibbet and the block. The pulpits were tuned, and the people were not allowed to hear the truth. The Universities were silenced by the abolition of the study of Canon Law. Henry, openly orthodox, did not hesitate to encourage heresy secretly. The people showed their appreciation of his efforts and those of his successor to deliver them from their bondage by rising against them not once but five times. They were put down by force or by lying promises of clemency never executed (it was the people who were executed instead).

As for the divorce question being only an incident, "If the Pope had ordered the Lady (Catharine of Arragon) to be separated from the king, the king would never have pretended to claim sovereignty over the Church." Thus the Emperor Charles V.'s ambassador. Ambassadors are usually chosen for their skill in noticing

<sup>18</sup>Review of Dr. Gairdner's book.

current events and interpreting them correctly. But we need not rely on him only : the fact is as plain as day in the whole history of the divorce business. Henry only made himself pope, instead of the successor of Peter, so as to be able thereby to carry out his own lustful purposes. And there are evidences that at least once in his reign he was inclined to repent of what he had done in the way of this usurpation. The historian thus sums up his reign, "The revolution effected by Henry VIII. was a thing without parallel in history, and it is hard to realise it at the present day. Professing to the last a zeal for religion, which in early days was not altogether insincere, he had destroyed the old autonomy of the Church [*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sii*], suppressed the monasteries, confiscated an enormous mass of property, and hanged, beheaded, or intimidated all who looked for the restoration of the system he had broken down. In his proceedings he had to a large extent gratified zealots who were enemies to all Church Law and Discipline, and of course he had won over to his side the grantees of monastic land."<sup>19</sup>

In the reign of Edward VI.—or really that of

<sup>19</sup>Gairdner, *op. cit.* p. 240.

Somerset and Warwick (whose characters please study)—there was further spoliation of the Church. He has left behind him “a name in connection with charities and education which critical scholars find to be little justified by facts.”<sup>20</sup> There was wild license in theory, and wilder in practice. “There was probably no period in the history of England so vicious, so abundant in religious pretexts for sin as the reign of Edward VI.” So bad had things become that an Act had to be passed against fighting in churches and churchyards, which “revealed the bitterness of the times and the results of the spiritual jurisdiction being in abeyance.” The Universities were still further tampered with. Statutes were imposed “whereby the whole form of government was altered.” Heretics like Bucer and Peter Martyr were intruded into Divinity chairs. “Such were the means used to degrade University teaching, and to set forth new doctrines supported by royal authority.”

When Mary came to the throne there were general rejoicings, though her consistent observance of “the old religion” must have left no doubt in the people’s minds as to what she was

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314.

likely to do. The change back was effected without any difficulty. The Spanish marriage, the loss of Calais, and the "fires of Smithfield" no doubt prepared the way for Elizabeth. But the "fires of Smithfield" had affected people, at any rate outside London and the neighbourhood, so little that Elizabeth was in constant dread of the power of Mary Queen of Scots to promote a popular uprising against her, in spite of all her diplomacy. For this mistress of duplicity, heartlessness, and cunning could be Protestant when it suited her ends, and equally Catholic if anything were to be gained by it. As one reads the story of the opening years of her reign, before she had, like her father before her, got the Church well under her thumb, one sees considerable difficulty in the resetting of the Reformation. Bishops oppose, clergy oppose, people oppose. And when it is set up we see more spoliation of the Church—in the regular Tudor way (with the honourable exception of Mary, who tried to restore what had been robbed)—ruined churches, altars without even a decent covering, people indifferent and disheartened. "A radical change in doctrine, worship, and discipline had been made by Queen and Parliament against the will of prelates and

ecclesiastical councils. The legislative power of Convocation is once more subjected to royal control—obstinate heresy is still a capital crime, but practically the bishops have little power of forcing heretics to stand a trial.”<sup>21</sup>

It is the same story all through—royal usurpation and spoliation, discipline broken, clergy and people coerced, churches ruined, the souls of the people starved or given poisonous food. What a period to reverence and to admire!

Dr. Gairdner sums up the whole thing in the last words of his book, “It was a new principle that Henry VIII. introduced into politics, involving new responsibilities for him and his successors, that the civil ruler was charged with the care of national religion no less than with the national defence and administration. But this principle has survived to the present day, and will remain. Men may secede from the Church of England as they please, but it remains a national trust, reflecting, as it always must do, the religious feeling of the nation.” Yes, it has survived. Amid many fluctuations it has only too faithfully “reflected the religious feeling of the nation.” By the mercy of God, and as a

<sup>21</sup> Cambridge Modern Hist., p. 570.

signal proof that He has been with us, there have been times of brightness, growing at the end of the very reign of Elizabeth up to the time of Laud, then in the days of the Caroline divines, soon to be Non-Jurors, lastly in the revival—most wonderful of all—in our own day. But as against this there have been the terrible times of Cromwell and the Commonwealth, of William III., and the Georges. It has been a see-saw business, according as the religious feeling of the nation was exalted or debased. Now in our time either Undenominationalism, which boils down everything into a thin and unsatisfying soup, or Pandenominationalism, which allows of choice of viands at the feast all pronounced equally wholesome, is the feeling of the nation. Like a faithful mirror we duly record it—and we are asked to be pleased to do so—pleased to mirror "*vox populi*" rather than to reflect "*Vox Dei*."

We may ask, "How long?" We may well refuse to take the Reformation as the "norm of our development in perpetuity"—if this is what it brings us to. As Catholics we cannot possibly be content, I take it, to merely reflect popular feeling, and to subject the Church of God to its uneasy fluctuations. We may fairly ask our-

selves this question—If the Church of England, under the pressure of tyranny, changed the course of her history in the 16th century, with such disastrous results, why may not the same Church, in the interests of a true “reasoned liberty” and efficiency, change again the course of her history in the 20th? Do you ask me if this is a practical question? I reply that the time cannot be long now before we are loosed from the bondage of the real tyranny which has held us in its iron fetters so long. But I reply further, that all things based on true principles become practical ultimately. And, more, I am not dealing here with practice, but only with the initial stage of the re-establishment of true principles. These once established, then God in His care for His Church will send the opportunity and the possibility of carrying them into practice. Our business is first with principles: the consequences of them lie in His hands.

But there is this for our comfort. The Reformation is evidently being felt too tight a fit for modern requirements, as quotations given from Pan-Anglican speeches show. I do not mean that they point to disestablishment, nor am I dealing with disestablishment as an ultimate, but only as an intermediate step. And,

besides, most of the Anglican Communion is unestablished. The real step lies further back, and we shall go on to discuss it a little in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI

### A SIGN-POST

We have now the grateful task of bringing our remarks to an end. Controversy can never be a pleasure, though it may be a necessity. I remember that, some little time back, a correspondent to *The Church Times*, hailing, I think, from Australia, made the remark that the Catholic party had ceased to be a fighting party. This was high praise, if it meant that we worked more and talked less. Still we could not, I hope, be accused of laziness. And "there is a time to speak." It has been given to our pugnacity (if it is so) to win some battles for the Catholic Faith. And doubtless, unless we are craven children of valiant forebears, it will be given to us to do so again. And I think that we have here, in this question we have been looking at together, the materials of a very serious battle, in which once again Catholic principles will have to be fought for, against the

New Latitudinarianism. If what we have been saying about "glorious comprehensiveness," the latest product of the Latitudinarian point of sight, is true, we may sum up our indictment against it somewhat in this way:

I. It is not "unity in diversity," but actual division and veiled schism.

II. It has paralysed the episcopal office.

III. It has made the Church unworkable on any true lines.

IV. Its genesis is "*vox populi*," in other words "private judgment," as against the submission to "*Vox Dei*," which is the spirit of the Catholic Church.

V. It encourages self-will and opinionatedness, even "likes and dislikes," as religious criteria.

VI. It maintains as permanent features a spirit of restlessness and a feeling of uncertainty about Truth.

VII. It takes its rise from the most unsettled and unsatisfactory period in all the history of "*Ecclesia Anglicana*."

VIII. It is a new spirit, cannot possibly be the "message" of the Catholic Church, and is ultimately inimical to Catholicism.

IX. It bars the way to all real progress.

X. It is a foe to the re-union of Christendom.

We might perhaps add some other counts, but the list is sufficiently formidable already. After due consideration, do you think it unfair?

#### WHY THE REFORMERS FAILED.

*The English Church is not responsible for it.* Once, again, the Reformation was forced upon an unwilling Church, and the Reformers acted throughout with the firm idea that they were maintaining the unity of the Church: they had no idea of leaving the Catholic fold. Only they made the mistake of not providing adequate means for the realisation of their object. In fact, they threw away, again under pressure which they were unable to resist, the only means which can ensure unity in the Church. They made what provision they could for the ensuring of discipline; only, once again, the provision they made, or, better, the provision they were forced into making, was inadequate. But, with all this, we may still say to ourselves, "*Spartam nactus es*"—Sparta here standing for the Catholic Church. There remains the appropriate precept "*hanc exorna.*" When one thinks of all our Sparta could be, of the Empire that God has entrusted to our hands to manage,

of the heathen within its borders, and outside them, to be converted, of the British genius to be consecrated more perfectly to His service, one is filled with sorrow and indignation at our fetters, bound first upon us by the tyranny of the Tudors, and one wonders with more than wonder at those who can hug them and proclaim them to be beautiful, and needful, and even splendid. Were our Catholic discipline restored, were the vigorous, magnificent Catholic life, which is now the realised heritage of some of us, to be the acclaimed heritage of all as the result of such discipline, were a certified vintage (and not the wine of windy theories) to "burst the wine-skins of the Reformation period," what a future might be ours! One trembles almost to think of its overpowering possibilities. "If we had the Anglicans with us we could sweep the world." Such, or similar, were the words I once heard reported as said by an ecclesiastic of the Roman obedience. I cannot give chapter and verse: I can only rely on a somewhat faulty memory for recollection that they were said. No matter: if they were not said, they might well have been said, for they are surely true. The Italian spirit is not necessarily the true spirit of the Roman Church. "Americanism" has not

always been particularly loved at Rome, and yet precisely there seems to lie, at the present moment, the true Roman spirit. The extravagant preponderance of Italian cardinals may be a fact of the present "*esse*" of the Roman communion; it is by no means necessarily a fact of its "*bene esse*"—as many "Romans" feel, I believe—unless the Italians can be shown to be a new species of Chosen People. We should surely have a solid contribution to bring in, the spirit of a free and enterprising people, needing only discipline to lead our enterprise and our religious enthusiasm more surely into the right channels.

The Church which has produced a Dunstan, an Anselm, a St. Thomas of Canterbury, a St. Hugh of Lincoln, a Sir Thomas More, in the past, which has given us a Hooker, a Pearson, a Jewel, a Butler, a Newman, a Pusey, in the days of adversity, may be expected with confidence to bring forth like products again. It is no question of an obscure Oriental body, or a nation almost nameless, but of a Church and a nation which plays a conspicuous part in the ordering of the present, and the moulding of the future, of the whole world.

But perhaps we are going a little too fast.

There are some stiles to be got over, and one of them is known as "Papal Claims," with a notice beside it, "Beware of the Bull." Let us regard it as a barrier for the present between us and the next field, and not as a means of access (as our forebears did), with due regard to the unwelcome animal.

"RUSSIA AND RE-UNION."

There are many who, supposing we were free (as we have seen we are not, at present) to contract alliances, have turned their thoughts most naturally to the East, as being also on our side of the stile. All thoughts of re-union are good thoughts in themselves. Isolation among Christians is always evil, and never free from some measure of schism. So, as I say, all thoughts of re-union are good thoughts in themselves, though sometimes other considerations enter in which prevent them being carried into effect. I think that anyone who has read, say, Wilbois' "*L'Avenir de l'Eglise Russe*" (there is an excellent translation published by Dr. Davey Biggs, under the title "*Russia and Re-union*"), will recognise such considerations. He will see there a graphic picture of a most interesting part of Christendom, described by a

master of style in seven letters which are really chapters. But he will see there a picture of a people quite different from ourselves, different in temperament, different in conditions, with an inbred traditionalism which is not ours, and a passivity which serves for discipline which could never so serve for us. It is a people isolated, a sort of second Israel in this respect (as the writer remarks), whose contact with the outer world has yet to come. And where it has come there are signs of disintegration already present for the observer to see. That is to say, their discipline, equal now to its task in their isolation, will likely prove inadequate when other conditions enter in. It is clearly, then, a people whose case is different from ours. We may be isolated ecclesiastically, but in all other respects we are cosmopolitan, touching the rest of the world at a thousand points, geographical and otherwise. Further, it is a people who have always been isolated ecclesiastically, save for their connection with others of their own system, which amounts to a practical isolation. One might say with truth that they are the people of a past, with a present (let alone a future) yet to come. I have taken the case of the Russian Church because it is the principal factor to be

dealt with, both numerically and dynamically, in the ecclesiastical "Eastern Question." Further, it is a Church which may be true to its own immediate past, but is untrue to its ultimate past, a conservative rather than a fundamentally traditional Church. This illuminating distinction is drawn in Letter IV., p. 128, of the translation, "the conservative in religion, in politics, in science, is the person who disregards the history of origins, and has not around him the example of evolution." Translated into English terms, we all know the "old-fashioned" conservative Churchman who follows the religion of his grandfather, as opposed to the Catholic Churchman who goes further back for his religious sanctions. The fundamentally traditional Orthodoxy, by its very terms, regards the first seven *Œcumene*ical Councils as authoritative. And of these the fourth and the sixth (at least) concede the Papal claims, and have climbed over the stile. The Russian Church received its religion from Eastern missionaries after the great schism, and so took kindly from the first to the repudiation of these claims. But in rejecting the Pope, the Eastern Church has been untrue to her own criteria of what is authoritative. Further than this, they have

developed some by-products in Russia, in the way of sects, which put to shame anything we have been able to do in this particular line.

#### THE GREAT SCHISM.

We shall probably want to know more of other parts of the Eastern Church, and particularly we shall want to look into the history of the great schism. For this I can recommend nothing better than Dr. Adrian Fortescue's "*The Eastern Orthodox Church*." It is written from the Roman point of view, which may possibly prejudice it in the eyes of some. But I got it owing to a favourable review in *The Church Times*, which described it as just in treatment. Having read it, I subscribe to the *dictum* of the reviewer, and I add that it is well written and eminently readable and interesting. After making ourselves acquainted with its pages, we shall very likely have as little to say for the schisms of Photius and Caerularius as we have for the efforts of our own Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. The same features are remarkably prominent in both "Reformations," self-will and the lust for power. Only the particular motives differ: the one mainly a sin of the spirit, the other (in the case of Henry VIII.) ■ sin of the flesh.

For such and similar reasons we shall probably come to the conclusion that re-union with the East would be in the nature of a *détour* in the general cause of Christian re-union: though it may appear at first sight (as it did to the Non-Jurors) to be the line of least immediate resistance.

#### DISCIPLINE OF ST. PETER THE GREAT NEED.

We may next reflect that if the Easterns are bound by the fourth General Council (Chalcedon), *so are we*. And that Council exhibited a most literal obedience to the commands of the Pope (definitely presented as “commands” and unrebutted), and by act as well as by speech affirmed its belief in the Papal supremacy. I do not desire to press this point at present. I only ask, “What is our great need?” And the obvious answer to that question is “*Discipline*.” We want, above all things, what the Reformers failed to secure, and were bound by the very line they adopted (though they did not realise this) to fail to secure, the obedience of our people to the voice of the Church, to Her decrees and Her enactments, whether in the way of doctrine or of discipline. And the question for us is how to regain this obedience, which *Ecclesia Anglicana*

could always count upon during the greater part of Her history. We have always, apparently, been a somewhat individualistic people, and we are pre-eminently so at the present day. And the national trait has been accentuated in daughter and sister States. Anyone who has ever been to a British colony has realised this, has not failed to perceive that people had strong opinions not necessarily backed by strong reasons, or founded upon stable ground. We may well ask where we are to get that power which will tame a strongly individualistic people? Well, it is acknowledged now on all sides that the Papacy was a providential institution (regard its ultimate claims as men will) for the subjugation of barbarian Europe, not because it was barbarian first at all, but because the people to be tamed were strongly individualistic, and required to learn the social lesson. We are confronted by much the same problem, removed, of course, several degrees higher up in the scale of culture, but still presenting similar features in the main. How is this spirit of splendid initiative to be captured for the highest social service there is, the service of the Catholic Church? Shall we be surprised if the same agency is indicated as the most promising

for our purpose? I think not, if we carry the question a little further back, premising the banishment of prejudice now almost hereditary and a national institution.

I think that if we are really honest with our history, we shall see that it is this power which has always proved the most fruitful in the maintenance of discipline and unity, not an eclectic, fanciful sort of unity, but the unity which impresses the world ("that the world may believe"). In short, it works. And is not one of the most promising of all the arguments for Christianity itself first this—it works? Expanded, it reads something like this: God has created the world on certain principles and with certain laws. The nearer we come to those principles and those laws, the more practical our life. It is at the base of the appeal to "follow nature," it is the argument of Bishop Blougram, pragmatical if you like, but sheer common sense (that rare virtue) at that. You may call it names, but if you are a wise man you will fit in with your environment. If it is a divine environment, you will obey Nature when Nature clearly spells God. And so if the Papacy, *i.e.*, Papal Supremacy, works, it is ■ vast argument in favour of its being of God. Look at a present-

day instance. The united Anglican Episcopate issues an Encyclical letter: nobody but an Anglican heeds it very much, unfortunately, or takes much interest (beyond a passing tribute of respect, or regret) in the matter. The "Bishop of Rome," one single bishop, issues an Encyclical, or a Bull, and the world waits upon what he has to say. For sheer power and influence (which is all we are dealing with here) no one could compare the two Encyclicals.

#### ARE THEY FALSE CLAIMS OR TRUE?

Are we going too fast? There is yet the question of right or wrong, of false claims or true. You have (what good Anglican hasn't?) your Puller's "*Primitive Saints*" and your Gore's "*Roman Catholic Claims*." Why did you buy them? To fortify your position against attack? Or because you desired to know the truth? Probably for both reasons. If for the former only, then I bid you adieu with my stateliest bow: you are a man of the courts, an advocate, and I do not desire your further acquaintance. If for the latter, then I ask you, having read the "cons," have you also studied the "pros"? Do you happen to know that Fr. Puller's "interpolations" in St. Cyprian have been pronounced

indisputably genuine by the Protestant Harnack? And have you seen Dom Chapman's able reply to Bishop Gore?<sup>22</sup> And then may I act as a sign-post, and point you, on the whole question, to Allies' "*St. Peter: His Name and Office*," or if you want a "catena" of the Fathers, to Waterworth's "*The Fathers on St. Peter and his Successors*," or, again, to Spencer Jones' "*England and the Holy See*," or to "*The Prince of the Apostles*" by the same writer and by Fr. Paul James Francis (which latter work contains a brief criticism of the main points in "*Primitive Saints*")? And I ask you whether, as every society must have its chairman, and as the question of an "Anglican Pope" was broached and discussed at the Pan-Anglican Congress (expressing a felt want: the existing Central Consultative Body, reorganised, was judged sufficient, at the Lambeth Conference,<sup>23</sup> which again must have a Chairman—not so very unlike the Pope and College of Cardinals), is it so very unnatural to suppose *à priori* (and *à priori* reasonings have surely gained vogue among us since Moberly's "*Ministerial Priesthood*") that our Blessed Lord, Who "knew what was in man," should

<sup>22</sup>"*Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*," price 6d.

<sup>23</sup>Lambeth Conference, Resolution 54.

have, in His supreme concern for unity among His followers, appointed a permanent centre, a traditional chairman, for the furtherance of His declared desire? It would, would it not, have been the most natural way? And we concede the head of a parish, of a diocese, of a province, of a patriarchate, all in the visible sphere, and having to do with a Church here on earth. What possible *à priori* objection can there be to a head of the whole visible Church on earth?

But I am not writing a set defence of the Papal Claims; others have done that much better, and it is not my object here. My object has been to show that we have arrived at an *impasse*, that we must find some way out, and that we have hardly given sufficient consideration to a way which suited us passably well for 1,000 years, and did much more for us than our present way does. And I must not be taken to uphold the Petrine claims as it is fashionable now to present them, in an Ultramontane setting. In fact, I hold that Ultramontanism and Vaticanism is "the enemy." But (i.) it would be strange indeed if the sundered units of the Christian Church had not tended, severally, to false developments; (ii.) in the present unrest, upset, and anxious questioning lies the hope of

the future. It is unscientific to take the present aspect of things as the final and only necessary aspect. Indeed, that is what I have been arguing all through with regard to ourselves. There are movements on all sides which are the results of re-awakened life. And life is stronger than the forms through which it manifests itself: it moulds them and changes them. And truth is stronger than the moulds into which it is poured: it has been known to burst very strong and very well recommended wine-skins. Prophecy was never more precarious than at the present time. And when everyone is talking and (we will hope) praying about re-union, then re-union cannot be so very far off.

But there are some more stiles, and there is the Bull. Yes, there is the Bull, a very fierce bull with an unpleasantly raucous voice. If the voice has woken people up, and made them ask the cause of the bellowing, is not that a gain? Is it not a gain that we should have been brought to realise what the possession of valid Orders really entails? Could we seriously expect others not to strain every nerve to refuse to believe in the Orders of those who do not, in some cases (far too many cases), believe in them themselves? While we indulge our "penchant"

for heretical deans, permit our priests to deny their Orders in any real sense by the refusal to exercise them (*e.g.*, in the very practical matter of Penance), take so little trouble to prepare our priests for their work, and allow them to be so culpably and grossly careless as some are in the administration of the Sacraments, what can we expect? Truth has been strained, no doubt; in this lies hope also. When things get better, as, thank God, they are getting better year by year, then discredited arguments may be forgotten. The Bull is not an immortal or indispensable animal: it is a question of discipline, not of faith or morals, and therefore it is no question of infallibility. And in any case, may we not re-echo the words of a Pan-Anglican speaker, dealing with the case of "our separated brethren," "If the only obstacle to a complete union of Christians was a doubt entertained in some part of the Church about my ordination, I should count it sinful pride to refuse to set that doubt at rest by submitting, under decent conditions, to re-ordination. As Duchesne once said to me, 'It is no more than St. Chad endured for a like cause.'"<sup>24</sup> What St. Chad could do, surely we could do; what we ask our separated

<sup>24</sup>Rev. T. A. Lacey. Pan-Anglican Report F, p. 125.

brethren to do for the sake of Home Re-union shall we not be prepared to do for the sake of a larger and, I venture to say, a more important re-union?

But what of our married clergy, our services in the vernacular, and similar things which we cleave to and would be loth indeed to part with? Here we touch on consequences; we need to stick to principles, for all else is secondary. Only, for our comfort, are we to suppose that a section of the Church which has allowed all these things to obscure Orientals, and even allowed them to retain a different form of the Creed to which they had grown accustomed, would be anxious to raise difficulties in the case of a communion whose influence is felt in every part of the world? And, as Mr. Spencer Jones has done good service in pointing out (in "*England and the Holy See*"), it is just in these points that the Roman Communion can most easily meet others—points of discipline, consequences, not principles.

Before I conclude I may notice two things. (i.) It is no new thing which is proposed, only a return to an old path. (ii.) If we are really serious in our appeal to the Undivided Churches and the first Councils—then there is the Case of

Chalcedon to be well looked into. For my part I cannot see how it can be argued that the supremacy of the Pope, in some form or other, was *not* recognised by that Council. So that it is at least arguable that we cannot comfortably acknowledge Chalcedon and repudiate Rome absolutely as nothing to us.

And if we do, in increasing numbers (as I am certain we shall), come to the conclusion that an "*Ecclesia Anglicana*," re-united to the See of Peter, is *the* way out of our present difficulties—then we may agree with the following words which appeared in the "*Guardian*" not so long ago:—"I am not so sanguine as to imagine that a Uniate Church could be formed to-day; but I believe that, for an ever-increasing number, it will prove the only alternative to individual secession. And I am inclined to think that if all Catholic-minded Anglicans could be polled, the number who would vote for a Uniate Church, or express in some way their desire for a revision of our usual attitude towards the Papacy, would be a revelation to many."

THE END.

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